PALMADESSA, ALLISON L., Ph.D. Higher Education and the Discursive Construction of American National Identity, 1946–2013. (2014)
Directed by Dr. David F. Ayers. 196 pp.

American institutions of higher education have served as a beacon of American idealism and identity since the foundation of the earliest universities. As the nation developed, higher education matured and continued to maintain a position of importance in the future of the nation. While the university has perpetuated a national cultural identity, the nation-state has resourced and legitimated the university, co-evolving, inextricably linking American national cultural identity and higher education. The goal of this study is to examine the role of higher education in producing and reproducing American cultural identity from 1946 to 2013, and how, if at all, the discursive identity constituted in the United States is bifurcated across class lines as represented in the university and community college respectively. To adequately address this complex topic, methods rooted in critical discourse analysis and a theoretical lens consistent with critical realist interpretations of the creation of material practices are employed to understand the discursive construction of national identity and higher education's role in its production and reproduction.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF AMERICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY, 1946–2013

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
2014

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For my family

Matt, Audrey, and Sabrina

APPROVAL PAGE

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January 31, 2014
Date of Acceptance by Committee

January 31, 2014
Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe many people many thanks for their support and encouragement over the past four years. This accomplishment was made possible by my family; my husband Matt and my daughters Audrey and Sabrina who supported my academic endeavors that took a lot of time and energy away from them, encouraging me every step of the way. Thank you to the grandparents who were ready supporters, helping with the girls when I was in class or writing.

To my chair, Dr. David Ayers, thank you for your patience, support, advice and mentorship making my doctoral education a valuable experience and this dissertation a rewarding and scholarly work. Dr. Richard Crane, for your continued support through three degrees and thirteen years; I am forever grateful. Dr. Wayne Journell and Dr. Craig Peck, thank you for taking on a doctoral student outside of your departments and lending your support, encouragement, and expertise to make this study possible. And of course to my fellow doctoral students—my friends—thank you for your support and friendship; I look forward to being friends and colleagues through the next challenge.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The American Revolution marked a radical turn away from the religious and authoritative regimes of Europe toward Enlightenment ideals of liberalism and human progress based on modern systems of knowledge (Anderson, 2006). Perhaps there is no better symbol of America's early commitment to these ideals than the early American colleges—Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale. As the USA matured, it developed a dense network of research universities unmatched in any other nation. Indeed, the USA and its colleges and universities are archetypical modern formations, and each has co-evolved with the other: The nation-state has resourced and legitimated the university, while the university has perpetuated a national cultural identity. Readings (1996), in fact, associates the university with "the destiny of the nation-state by virtue of its role as producer, protector, and inculcator of an idea of national culture" (p. 3). Higher education and the formation of American national culture are inextricably linked.

Purpose of the Study

The primary goal of this study is to examine the role of higher education institutions in the production and reproduction of American cultural identity. Though higher education's role in producing American national identity may be traced back to Colonial America, the historical context for the present analysis is 1946 to 2013. At the beginning of this period, the Truman administration explicitly recognized higher

education as vital to the interests of the United States. As a result of the Truman Commission report (Higher Education for American Democracy) and the Truman administration's attention to higher education, 1946 was purposefully selected as the starting point of this study. From this period to the 1960s, policymakers across party lines maintained a consensus regarding public investment in higher education (St. John & Parsons, 2004). Beginning in the 1970s, however, the world experienced a period of cultural, political, and technological globalization positioning the USA as a leading superpower, and the emergence of global capitalism. Within this milieu, the salience of the nation state as a hegemonic scale of political organization has been questioned. As Readings (1996) puts it, "the nation-state is no longer the major site at which capital reproduces itself" (p. 13). One result is that the relationship between the nation-state and higher education is not clear, and the policy consensus regarding higher education has dissipated into a contest between those who view higher education as a public good on one hand and those who viewed it as a private good to be bought and sold through capitalist markets on the other. This dramatic policy change is explained in the present analysis as a shift in policy paradigm (Hall, 1993).

Changing relations between the nation-state and higher education have led to an ongoing debate regarding the future of higher education. According to Readings (1996), "the contemporary University [*sic*] is busily transforming itself from an ideological arm of the state into a bureaucratically organized and relatively autonomous consumer-oriented corporation" (p. 12). One the other hand, higher education can be viewed as an arm of the neoliberal state, or the Schumpeterian competition state (Jessop, 2004, 2008a;

Jessop, Fairclough, & Wodak, 2008). While many scholars have debated the relationships between higher education and the global political economy, few have addressed the role of higher education in consolidating national identity within this milieu. In exploring the role of higher education in consolidating American national identity, the researcher will take an interest in how, if at all, higher education's task of shaping American national identity has changed from the period 1946 to 2013.

Finally, the latter half of the 20th century witnessed the proliferation of new type of educational institution—the community college. With more than 1,173 campuses, today's community college serves nearly half of all undergraduate learners in the United States. It is undoubtedly a major component of the American educational infrastructure. While there is much debate surrounding the origins, purposes, and future of this institution, its position in the hierarchy of higher education institutions is clear. The community college tends to serve those who otherwise would not have access to higher education, and its mission is largely defined by the nation's rising economic disparity. As such, the institutional hierarchy in American higher education substantially reflects increasing social stratification. In other words, with the emergence of the community college, America's postsecondary educational infrastructure has arguably bifurcated along class lines.

The present analysis of higher education and the formation of national identity take the community college into account. If higher education has played a role in consolidating national identity, has this role remained constant despite substantial variance in economic equity and across institution types? In other words, does today's

divergent institutional framework construct a homogenous national identity? Or, alternatively, does today's hierarchical, stratified institutional framework also construct stratified—or at least qualitatively different—varieties of national identity?

Research Questions

As described above, the purpose of conducting the present analysis is threefold. The analysis is guided by the following three research questions:

1. What is the role of higher education in the production and reproduction of American national identity?
2. How, if at all, does this role change alongside shifts in policy paradigms from 1946 to 2013?
3. How, if at all, does institutional hierarchy prescribe differing varieties of national identity?

Significance of the Research

Answers to these questions bear significance to theory and policy. With respect to the former, findings may enrich our understanding of the broader purposes and functions of higher education not only historically but also within a context of cultural, political, technological, and economic globalization. Various scholars have theorized changing roles of higher education. This line of work is of paramount importance, because, as Readings (1996) argues, as long as we fail to understand the institution of higher education within this context, higher education remains adrift in its mission and purpose.

This problem leads to the significance of the present study to policy. In the absence of democratically formed, deliberate roles for higher education, the institution may succumb to the will of those who have the means to shape higher education according to their own interests. As a consequence, the very nature of higher education as a modern formation is threatened, as knowledge is politicized, censored, commoditized, and controlled by society's elite. The mission of the university thus turns from human progress based on modern systems of knowledge to capital accumulation, social stratification, and oppression. In the process, American national identity may fracture, stratify along class lines, and reproduce inequity.

Assumptions

This approach rests upon a set of ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions associated with critical realism. Ontologically, the institution of higher education is theorized as a network of social practices constituted at least in part by discourses. Here, practices are "habitualised ways, tied to particular times and places, in which people apply resources (material or symbolic) to act together in the world" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 21). Harvey (1996) suggests that any given practice is a particular amalgamation of six dialectically related elements, which he refers to as moments. These moments include discourses, power, social relations, material practices, institutions/rituals, and beliefs/values/desires. These moments are dialectically related in the sense, for example, that discourses are in part power, part social relations, part material practices, part institutions/rituals, and part beliefs/values/desires. Neither of these moments can be reduced solely to discourses, however. Each moment is discursive

but is also something more than discourses. Policymaking, for example, is substantially a discursive practice, though it takes place under material conditions and involves specific institutions and rituals, power, social relations, and beliefs and values. In sum, this study is ontologically grounded in a moderate form of social constructionism typical of critical realism.

Epistemologically, the author agrees with Jessop, who "rejects any universalistic, positivist account of reality, denies the facticity of the subject-object duality, allows for co-constitution of subjects and objects, and eschews reductionist approaches to … analysis" (Jessop, 2004, p. 161). As such, the present analysis "escapes both the sociological imperialism of pure social constructionism and the voluntarist vacuity of certain lines of discourse analysis, which seem to imply that agents can will anything into existence in and through an appropriately articulated discourse" (Jessop, 2004, p. 161). At the same time, this researcher recognizes both the constitutive nature of discourses as well as the extra-discursive moments of social practices.

Overview of Research Methods

Methodologically, discourse analysts take discourse as one point of entry into analysis of practices. Because discourses and other moments of practices are dialectically related, or overlapping, the analysis of discourses can lead to insights about other moments of the practice. In fact, this is the main concern of CDA: Discourse matters because it affects power relations, institutions, rituals, and other aspects of social and material reality. When discourses function as a mechanism of power and

domination, it is problematic. CDA allows scholars to recognize forms of oppression that may otherwise be obscured by hegemonic relations.

CDA involves the systematic analysis of empirical data, with the intent of theorizing the possible existence of abstract structures as manifest in language. As such, the object of the analysis is discourse, which manifests empirically as texts. To address the research questions proposed above, the researcher collected textual data including 724 texts directly related to higher education and produced by presidential administrations from 1945 to 2013. Through analysis of presidential texts, I intend to (a) identify continuity and ruptures in policy paradigms, (b) observe the linguistic mechanisms deployed to consolidate national identity, and (c) gather insights about the nature of that identity and the role proscribed to higher education in reproducing it. In addition, as networks of social practices, higher education institutions exist in relation to the federal policy context. As such, these networks internalize, reproduce, and inflect discourses associated with dominant policy paradigms. The analytical research methods are elaborated in Chapters II and III of this manuscript.

Summary of Purpose

In this study, I seek to address the role of higher education in perpetuating American national identity from 1946 to 2013, how that role coincides with the emergence of policy paradigms, and whether or not America's hierarchical higher education system is reflective of social hierarchies and their varying understandings of national identity. Addressing this agenda contributes to policymakers' and scholars' understanding of the historical and future contexts of the purpose and role of higher

education at the dawn of a new era, one entrenched with market ethos and challenges to the traditional goal of higher education to seek and share knowledge for the benefit of all. Furthermore, as the nation and its social institutions face these challenges, national identity may be stratified across class lines, reproducing a class based society, an issue that is inextricably linked to American higher education. While there are numerous works on American national identity, this study is unique in both method of analysis and purpose. I approach the subject of the discursive construction of national identity from a critical realist ontological perspective and seek to address the research questions using empirical methods. Furthermore, the time parameters established for the study are significant as they were selected based on the potential for policy paradigm shifts as 1946 and 2013, the limits of the study, are historically significant to both policy initiatives and the institution of higher education. Finally, this study focuses on one social institution's role in negotiating, interpreting, and recreating the dominant discursive national identity. Since higher education in the US is arguably facing its own crisis of purpose, and is currently a focus of federal policy initiatives during Obama's second presidential term, higher education stands to have a profound impact on the nation reflective of the outcome of both the crisis of purpose and the direction of federal policy regarding higher education.

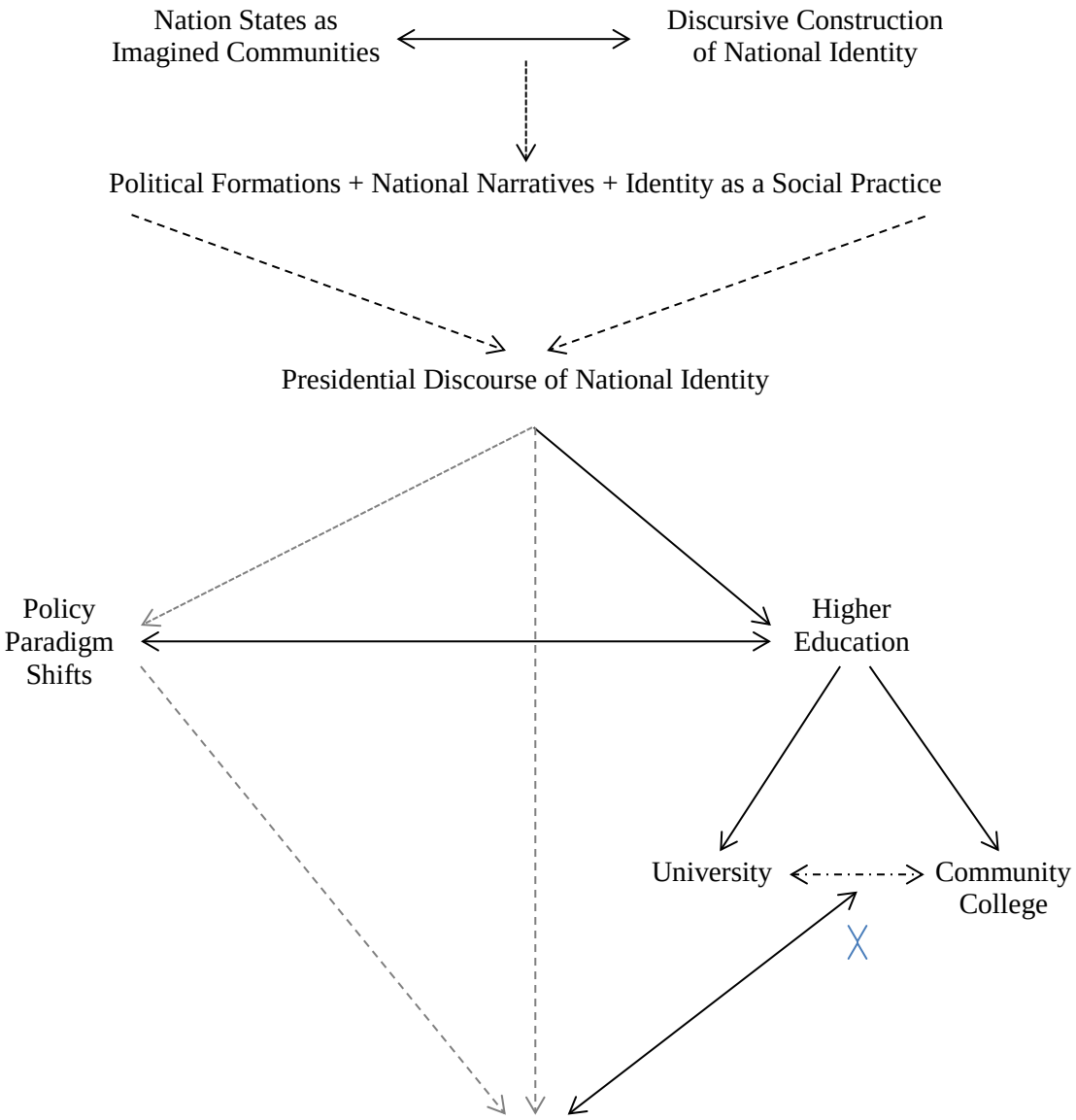
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical framework through which I analyze selected texts and the related literature regarding national identity and higher education are discussed. In addition, I created a figure (see Figure 1) to represent the framework discussed henceforth. Figure 1 represents the complex web of theories and assumptions that guide my analysis of the discursive creation of national identity and the role of the presidency, federal policy, and higher education in crafting that identity.

The framework that guides my research is adopted from the work of Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart's (2009) study of the discursive construction of national identity in Austria. Wodak et al. frame their understanding of national identity in the context of Anderson's (2006) theory of imagined communities. In what follows, I describe Anderson's work. I begin with a historical account of the emergence of the nation state. The discussion then turns to various theorizations of identity which may be relevant to work on national identity. Next, I discuss in detail the methodological framework created by Wodak and colleagues (a detailed account of how I employ this framework for my study is included in Chapter III of this manuscript). Following the section on national identity is an overview of Hall's (1993) concept of policy paradigms.



1. What is the role of higher education in the production and reproduction of American national identity?
2. How, if at all, does this role change alongside shifts in policy paradigms from 1946 to 2013?
3. How, if at all, does institutional hierarchy proscribe differing varieties of national identity?

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework Map.

This concept is salient to the present analysis because it explains continuity and change in policy in terms of power and discourses, thus theorizing the context within

which national identity develops. Finally, the institutional context of this analysis is discussed. Specifically, the section concludes with an overview of literature on the relation between higher education and society, the implications for national identity, and debates over the societal impacts of the community college.

The Emerging Nation State

Anderson's (2006) theory of the state as an imagined community is a central assumption to the framework presented (Wodak et al., 2009), and is paramount to the discursive construction of national identity as conceptualized in my research agenda regarding American national identity and the subsequent reproduction through higher education. According to Anderson (2006), the imagined community, in thought and boundary, first rose out of a combination of the fall of dynasties and the lessened importance of religious communities at the end of the 18th century. This was evident first in print media, novels and newspapers, as authors assumed readers understood context based on the community in which they lived, not personal interaction between readers. The author was able to do this through creating social space and use of familiarity to reference and make connections with the reader based on calendric time and landscape of text. In modern times, this activity is repeated by author and reader every day when individuals read the newspaper. It is a mass action by many who will never meet to discuss the news, but when they observe others reading the paper, the imagined community is ultimately reinforced to the individual (Anderson, 2006).

While place, space, and time, coupled with mass action do create a reference point for the imagined community, it is a much more complex process. Anderson (2006)

defines three historical moments in the late 16th and early 17th century that allowed for the nation to be imagined at all. First, Latin was the sacred language that only the educated had access to and therefore the truth; once this language was no longer the dominant language in print, the vernacular was used in its place, and thus a greater audience was allowed to consume knowledge. Second, with the fall of religious authority holding the truth and choosing those who ruled, the natural hierarchy of humans was debunked. Third, time distinctions between past and present, creating a linear method of thinking, became a great factor in creating means of remembrance and future thought.

These historical moments were not created by accident; Anderson attributes capitalism, as early as 1500, to be the key influence as to both how and why the nation as a community emerged as the dominant focus of individuals and agents of the state. Capitalism encouraged the market of books, a market that easily crossed borders. Texts had to be printed in the vernacular to cross borders and as texts became more widely read they became contributors to the national consciousness. Print language facilitated national consciousness as it unified a means of communication and exchange; language provided a means of creating an image for a nation—which is subjective—while print allowed permanent representation and surpassed time and created "languages-of-power" (Anderson, 2006, p. 44). This is of utmost importance to Anderson's (2006) theory of the nation-state as an imagined community as he states: "the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation" (p. 46).

This was most important in Colonial America as newspapers were printed by printer-journalists who worked closely with the postmaster to ensure distribution to members of the community. This became key as communication between communities and intellectual life in the colonies was facilitated by newspapers, particularly during the American Revolution. The American Revolution was truly revolutionary as it was the first break from the old regimes of Europe. Fueled by the theoretical forces of the Enlightenment, liberalism, and economics, the Patriots created an imagined community that completely divorced the religious and authoritative construction of the human hereditary order of monarchical regimes (Anderson, 2006).

As Anderson (2006) articulates, how a nation is constructed and legitimated over time and space is an important element in the imagining of the community. For the United States, this begins with the nation's story of origin (Wodak et al., 2009), the American Revolution. The American Revolution was cataloged and preserved in print. Modernity was juxtaposed against ancient history, and progress was defined in the construction of the American imagined community. Out of the American Revolution emerged imagined realities of:

> nation-states, republican institutions, common citizenships, popular sovereignty, national flags and anthems, etc., and the liquidation of their conceptual opposites . . . Furthermore, the validity and generalizability of the blue-print were undoubtedly confirmed by the *plurality* of the independent states. (Anderson, 2006, p. 81)

In addition, this blue-print was also transferable; the United States did not, nor could it have, a patent on the creation of a nation. Rather, the Revolution, its methods, means,

and representations, were pirated by even unexpected European entities. This meant that not only was a modern nation successfully created, but it created a model and set of standards for the modern nation. Other nations justified their attempts to replicate the American model by referencing history and the progression of their community to meet the assumed criteria to pursue a revolution against the old regime (Anderson, 2006).

If nations are imagined communities, and their boundaries, and autonomy are mental constructs, they are not tangible; yet the image is still real to those who identify as members of the community and define or differentiate themselves in terms of a shared narrative and system of meaning, creating what it means to be a member of that community. What it means to be a member of a distinct nation, or *homo nationalis*, to represent the norms and values, the characteristics synonymous and assumed in connection with the state (Wodak et al., 2009), is formerly theorized by multiple scholars, discussed here to establish the definition of national identity as it is operationalized in my research regarding the United States from 1946 to 2013.

Theorizing Identity

In addition to theorizing the concept of nations as an imagined identity, Anderson (2006) also contributes importantly to the research regarding how identities were imagined through nationalism, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the United States, it is typically assumed that the dominant identity of the nation-state stems from the concept of and the resultant actions related to either Manifest Destiny or the Civil War and its aftermath. As already noted, Anderson (2006) disagrees and posits that it actually began with the importance and influence of print culture during the American

Revolution. Nonetheless, the dominant imagining of fraternity as a bond amidst violence across racial, class, and regional lines in the United States "show clearly as anything else that nationalism" in the 19th century "represented a new form of consciousness . . . that arose when it was no longer possible to experience the nation as new, at the wave-top moment of rupture" (Anderson, 2006, p. 203). After nations were formed, in both North America and Europe, and differences were forgotten by means of control and manipulation; national consciousness was then spread and consolidated.

> As a rule, the road to this national identification was and is paved with monumental narratives which do sufficient justice to the narrative ordering principles of concordance and stringency, through which they also integrate narratively heterogeneous elements and historical incongruences. (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 18)

Nation-states as sovereign entities with the ability to exercise power solidified through two world wars in the 20th century. The creation of the League of Nations legitimized the nation-state as the norm, and after the Second World War, the state as the modern conception of political and social distinction was unquestioned. As a result, at this historic juncture, nations could "now be imagined without linguistic communality" (Anderson, 2006, p. 135). This accomplishment of imagined community beyond the link of language permeated all aspects of social and discursive life in the post-War world. The complex historical experiences of Americans and Europeans became modularized in the 20th century; nation-ness became inseparable from political consciousness and is reproduced by means of "nationalist ideology through the mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations, and so forth" (Anderson, 2006, pp. 113–114). The

social changes and changes in consciousness contributed to the imagining of the nation and was represented in all semiotic mediums, not simply reinforced by linguistic commonality as the first historical moment of change suggests (Anderson, 2006).

Gee's Framework for Understanding Identity

Gee (2000) offers researchers a lens to interpret how individual identities and an individual's "performance in society" (p. 99) is important to the understanding of "the workings of historical, institutional, and sociocultural forces . . . in the formation and workings of 'modern' societies . . ." (p. 100) and the implications of neoliberalism "for identity and changes in identity" (p. 100). With the goal of understanding identity in context of place and time, Gee (2000) identifies four ways to view identity: the nature-identity, in which individuals are a part of nature and their natural state is their natural identity; the institution-identity is an identity not sought by the individual, rather it is imposed upon the individual by the authority of an institution reinforced by laws, rules, regulations, and traditions of the institution; the discourse-identity defines individual traits through discursive interaction with other social actors, with power legitimated through the recognition of traits by social actors, emerging from competing discourses; and affinity-identity, which is created through a set of experiences and practices that often span large scales.

Most salient to research regarding the discursive construction of national identity are the institution identity, discourse identity, and affinity identity described by Gee (2000). As Jessop (2008b) argues, since nation-states are so difficult to define, they are instead often defined by the social institutions that comprise the state. As a result, the

institution identity offered by Gee (2000) contributes a means to understanding the impact the social institution of higher education has on individuals in a given society; how that institution in its authority as a service to the public expected to reinforce national norms influences how individuals make meaning of their role or position in society. If higher education is in fact expected to either create or perpetuate a national identity in the United States, this perspective of identity is relevant to understanding how the members of the community accept and live that imposed identity.

The discourse identity, recognizable in discourse among individuals, perpetuates the accepted identity through individuals' interactions that are acceptable within the confines of the imposed identity in their given society and historical moment, and recreates a narrative through which the individuals can reciprocate a set of traits and normative values that are privileged in the national identity. This is an identity that is created and reproduced by social actors; people are not by nature representative of a discursive identity (Gee, 2000). This is of particular importance in the present research as the narratives selected by presidents are a key indicator of the version of democratic idealism that is espoused in each presidency under consideration.

The final view of identity labeled by Gee (2000) is the affinity-identity. The affinity-identity is created through a set of experiences. Practices have the power to create experiences that shape the identity; since distinctive social practices hold the authority, affinity groups may span large scales. Affinity groups therefore do not have to be physical groups, rather "allegiance to, access to, and participation in specific practices" (Gee, 2000, p. 105) constitutes the identity. The practices are created by

multiple people and discourses, and are intentionally created in a neoliberal society. Businesses and other entities modeled in corporate structures socially engineer affinity groups to insure that people "gain certain experiences, that they experience themselves and other in certain ways, and that they behave and value in certain ways" (Gee, 2000, p. 106). These experiences build allegiance through bonding and commonality in experiences and practices (Gee, 2000). In the case of national identity, creating an affinity group that has the potential to span across scales, involves the authority of social institutions, and invokes the need for common narratives that describe and privilege an ideal democratic state, offers an explanation not only for how a national identity can be perceived from outsiders, but how individuals come to willingly subscribe to and perpetuate that identity without question.

Sameness and Selfhood

Ricœur (1992) contributes to the discussion regarding individuals and their relationship to national identity by establishing two components of identity, sameness and selfhood, in an attempt to address the issues of complexity of defining national identity and identifying its processes, particularly when considering the involvement of social actors in the ever-changing, intrinsic community, to which they ascribe (Wodak et al., 2009). In Ricœur's (1992) theory, there are three components of sameness: (a) numerical identity, based on the idea that two things are one in the same; (b) qualitative identity, argues that extreme resemblance to the point of interchangeability is present and qualifiable; and (c) uninterrupted continuity, which deals with temporal change, following from start to end to defy dissemblance of structure in social institutions under

consideration. Dialectically related to sameness is the theory of selfhood, which focuses solely on the individual. Since the theory of selfhood focuses solely on the individual person, not the interaction between or among individuals, it is not relevant to this study, nor the framework presented by Wodak et al. (2009), to which I ascribe, as they argue "an imagined community such as a nation cannot have such an 'identity of the self'" (p. 13). However, in the tradition of Ricœur (1992) the authors do argue that narrative identity mediates between the collective and the individual.

Narrative identity creates temporal permanence as the composition of the narrative "aims to synthesize heterogeneous elements by combining heterogeneous factors in linked plots and events" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 14) thus functioning "to integrate with permanence in time what seems to be its contrary in the domain of sameness-identity, namely diversity, variability, discontinuity, and instability" (Ricœur, 1992, p. 140). Narrative identity thus reconciles constancy and transformation because part is real and part is created. Therefore people can reinterpret the past and renegotiate the direction for the future; creating an open form of identity that allows people to prescribe meaning to practices (Wodak et al., 2009).

Interpreting the Imagined Community

Hall (1996), in agreement with Anderson (2006) that identity is a product of discourses and nations are imagined communities, and key in Wodak and colleagues' (2009) framework, posits that nations are political formations and "systems of cultural representations" (p. 612) that allow people to interpret the imagined community. Furthermore, Hall (1996) contends that national culture is in itself a discourse; a means

by which actions and meanings in the concept of individuals within a community are organized. The dominant method used to construe this culture is through the stories that are told that connect the past and present that in turn imagine how the culture is constructed. The narratives are constructed yet controlled by cultural power as a means to unify across differences, giving social actors agency to reproduce the narratives in various institutional contexts.

Hall (1996) establishes five discursive strategies, or fundamental cultural aspects, of national identity to understand national narrative as it is constructed. First, the narrative of the nation is present in media, literature, and every day conversation, among other discursive practices, aiming to create connections to various narratives, memories, symbols, and behaviors that represent shared interests of the community. This narration has the influential power to tie every day existence, even the mundane, to the destiny of the entire nation. Second, the narrative presents a timeless image of character that persists because it is constituted by or through discourses. Third, invented traditions are employed in the narrative to make sense of past failures, turning them into means of unification. Fourth, the story of the origin of the nation is included, although cultural origins can be difficult to place temporally. Last, the narrative of the origin requires that fictitious people are created to identify the culture of origin from which the present culture developed. The ultimate goal of the narrative construction of cultural national identity according to Hall is to discursively mask actual differences between people to construct a national community to which people can ascribe. Hall (1996) states, and Wodak et al. (2009) agree, that the five strategies is not an exhaustive list, and needs to

be elaborated upon as “national identity cannot be completely subsumed under the category of narrative identity” (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 25). Thus, to complement narrative identity (Hall, 1996) and complete the framework posed in the work by Wodak and colleagues (2009), the authors turn to Kolakowski (1995).

Elements of National Identity

Kolakowski’s (1995) work contributes to the literature on the construction of national identity by defining five elements of national identity. The first element lies within the national spirit that is evoked particularly in a time of crisis. This is an element that is not always historically embedded; people think about how the national identity applies to them and embody this spirit when they deem it necessary. Second, historical memory is a key element in the construction of national identity. Kolakowski is careful to point out that it does not matter if this memory is historically accurate or not; what matters is how far back the memory can reach and link the stories of the past to the present state. The third element in Kolakowski’s theory is contested by Wodak and colleauges (2009) due to their allegiance to Anderson’s (2006) theory of imagined communities, but is relevant in other works and theories of creating a national identity. This element points to the anticipation of the future; Kolakowski (1995) attributes agency to the nation-state, considering the potential death of a nation as a means of identification; institutions do not have agency in the context of an imaginary and therefore cannot die (Wodak et al., 2009). Continuing in contrast to the work of Anderson (2006), Kolakowski (1995) poses the fourth element of national identity as the national body. In this case it is an actual entity; in the imagined community it is

considered a metaphor for the nation-state (Anderson, 2006; Wodak et al., 2009). The last element, and consistent with Hall's (1996) work, is the identification of a named beginning; this beginning can be an event or a set of founding people (Kolakowski, 1995). As a result of identified discrepancies and theoretical issues in the works presented, Wodak et al. (2009) developed a unique framework influenced by these works.

Discourse and National Identity

The works of Hall (1996) and Kolakowski (1995) are complementary, but not perfectly aligned. As a result, Wodak et al. (2009) recognize that the two theories have equally useful contributing features, but cannot be simply married as inconsistencies that result in issues of temporality and narration emerge. Thus, they address the role of narrative, time, and discourse in the construction of their framework to ascertain how Austria's national identity is discursively construed. The authors argue:

> . . . the discursive construction of national identity revolves around the three temporal axes of the past, the present and the future. In this context, origin, continuity/tradition, transformation, (essentialist) timelessness and anticipation are important ordering criteria. Spatial, territorial, and local dimensions (expanse, borders, nature, landscape, physical artifacts, and intervention in 'natural space') are likewise significant in this discursive construction of national identity. (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 26)

Therefore, "the relational, dynamic concept of identity is tied up in a complex dialectical relationship between sameness and difference, and that narrative identity attempts to mediate in this relationship" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 27). In addition to sameness and difference, uniqueness at the national level allows for social actors in positions of power to conceal the ideologically forced homogenization of identity and covering of difference

under the umbrella of national identity as applicable to all who meet the sameness criteria, situating uniqueness not as a personal attribute that many seek, but rather a means to bring individuals into the community.

After situating narrative identity and time in the context that Wodak et al. (2009) agree is amenable to their research agenda, they address how national identity is discursively constructed. To complete the framework, and solidify the joining of theories and transition to this important point, the authors turn to Martin's (1995) work on collective narrative. Martin (1995) determines that the collective narrative of the past influences human action and interaction, what traits are emphasized, and the meaning and logic behind that emphasis. The result of the identity narrative is therefore to bring "forth a new interpretation of the world in order to modify it" (Martin, 1995, p. 13). While Wodak and colleagues (2009) rely on Martin (1995) to finalize their conceptual framework, they argue that Martin's position is most relevant in the realm of political discourse and therefore ignores the "faith-related identifying bond" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 28) that is paramount to the national character, or homo Austriacus, that "is a mere stereotypical phantasmagoria which has no real counterpart outside the minds of those who believe in it" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 29). This character that creates such a bond among members of the imagined community creates a sense of belonging and contributes to the understanding of why people are willing to defend their nation-state, right or wrong.

Lastly, before unveiling the main theses of the framework of the discursive construction of national identity, Wodak and colleagues include Bourdieu's (1993)

contribution to the construction of national identity, which operationalizes identity as a social practice. Bourdieu (1993) states:

> Through classificational systems . . . inscribed in law, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals . . ., the state molds mental structures and imposes common principles of vision and division . . . And it thereby contributes to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity . . . (p. 7)

The framework Wodak et al. (2009) pose as a theoretical and methodological approach to understanding the discursive construction of national identity that can be adapted to various states, given attention to the appropriate historical and cultural features of the nation under study, brings forth five theses as recommendations for analysis. First, the authors contend that national identity is discursively constructed in social practices. Second, social practices are determined by social institutions and subject people who are a part of the collective by choice to those practices. Third, discursive practices are social practices that both form and express national identity. Fourth, discursive practices sometimes become law that regulates social practices of people through social institutions. And finally, the fifth thesis is that social and discursive practices may deviate from law in various scales.

The Discursive Construction of National Identity

The framework established by Wodak et al. (2009) is a methodology based upon critical linguistics, which a network of scholars elaborated into what is now known as critical discourse analysis (CDA; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA considers the dialectical relationship between social structures, moments, and institutions that shape and impact

discourse which in turn influences the social and political reality of individuals in a given society. Through this, CDA uncovers even obscure uses of ideological language influencing discursive practices that create identities as well as perpetuate power dynamics (Wodak et al., 2009); power dynamics that facilitate social formations (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). CDA offers a means to study the evolution of discourses and the role of social practices and human agency. As discourses evolve, influence processes and perceived reality, the discursive practices often become hegemonic. It is at this point when discourses are seen as reflecting realities instead of constructing them that the issue of power in relation to discursive practices is addressed; thus language attains power and discourses function ideologically.

To effectively uncover and challenge discursive practices that support social inequity, CDA is to be operationalized in various disciplines, bringing multiple theories to the forefront of social research; social research that will confront issues of inequities in power and social justice for the public. Thus, CDA allows researchers to raise

> critical awareness of language as language is a fundamental part of social life, is connected to power dynamics, and as a result, has a particular importance in democratic society in which members of that society need a means to understand their circumstances if they are to attain some form of control in society. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, pp. 9–10)

While CDA is an appropriate means to analyze the discursive practices and linguistic mechanisms that create and re-create national identity, additional approaches are considered as a result of the historical nature of my research agenda as it is both synchronic and diachronic (Wodak et al., 2009).

Discourse Historical Approach

Reisigl and Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach (DHA) situates issues of social justice in their historical context and grounds analyses in various forms of critical theory. Following the tradition of critical inquiry, scholars maintain distance from the data, yet the "object under investigation and the analysts' own position" must be "transparent and justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 88). However, important critical theory may be to the subject studied, DHA cautions researchers not to get bogged down in grandiose theory, rather use theories as a lens to develop conceptual tools to address the specific social issue discussed. Additionally, it is imperative that the historical and sociopolitical context of the discursive practices analyzed are specifically described in terms of ideology and power, keeping with the tradition and purpose of the critical analysis of discourses (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Therefore, DHA is most useful when studying issues in the political realm; deconstructing political ideology and its role in issues of social justice creating conceptual frameworks appropriate for the study of political discourses.

When considering historical and political texts, the "historical dimension of discursive acts" must be considered in two ways (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 7). First, DHA "always attempts to integrate as much available information as possible on the historical background and the original historical sources in which discursive 'events' are embedded" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 7). Second, diachronic changes, discourse as it

changes over a specific period of time, are considered. Wodak et al. used this approach to study the discursive construction of national identity. Specifically they intended

> to uncover manipulative manœuvers in politics and the media, which aim at linguistic homogenization or discriminatory exclusion of human beings, and to heighten the awareness of rhetorical strategies which are used to impose certain beliefs, values, and goals . . . [and] to throw light on the largely contingent and imaginary character of nation and to sharpen awareness of dogmatic, essentialist and naturalizing conceptions of nation and national identity. (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 9)

Through a historical lens, the link between linguistic means and practices uncover the "reciprocal relationship between discursive action and political and institutional structures" as they change and are negotiated over time (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 9).

In their work on Austrian national identity, the authors pose that this conceptual and methodological framework is adaptable to other nations, if the researcher(s) take the particular nation's history and cultural perspectives into consideration. Heeding to this direction, I follow the methods established by Wodak and colleagues (2009), discussed in detail in the following sections. The methods used to extrapolate the discursive construction of national identity involves three dimensions of analysis, "contents, strategies, and means and forms of realization" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 30).

Contents

Five themes emerged in the analysis of Austrian identity that established the contents of the study. First, "the linguistic construction of 'homo Austriacus'" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 30) was an important theme throughout the study. The 'homo Austriacus' embodied the attachment individuals have to their nation; it is a common mentality and

supposed behaviors common in that nation; it establishes a common place; and the total embodiment of the accepted identity. 'Homo Austriacus' is generalizable as 'homo nationalis'; thus the generalized form of this strategy is employed in my analysis of US presidential texts. Second, "the narration and confabulation of a common political past" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 31) was present in the texts analyzed. This narration included stories of foundation or origin, founding figures or heroes; stories about political success, stability/prosperity, and also crises and failures. Third, "the linguistic creation of common culture" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 31) in everyday life and artifacts through art, literature, music, religion, and language, among others. Fourth, "the linguistic construction of a common political present and future" that "explored in terms of citizenship, political achievements, current and future political problems, crises and dangers, future political objectives and political virtues" became apparent (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 31). The final theme to establish contents is "the linguistic construction of 'national body'" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 31) that considers both the natural space and the theoretical reach of that body. Each of these themes are important to the present analysis as legitimating the past, explaining the present, referencing the future, and creating a sense of belonging for the American public is very important to the analysis of presidential narratives.

Strategy

The concept of strategy as applied by Wodak et al. (2009) is not perhaps as cleanly defined as contents. The basic interpretation the authors put forth is that strategy is direction in operation and strategists lead to meet that objective. They base this

interpretation on a combination of Bourdieu's (1993) and Heinemann and Viehweger's (1991) theories of strategy. Bourdieu's interpretation of strategy includes that strategies have goals but each step to the goal is not always specifically planned. The issue Wodak et al. (2009) take with this concept is the assertion that strategy and action are interchangeable. They argue, rather, that action is realized in strategy. Thus, they apply the work of Heinemann and Viehweger (1991) to bring strategy and discourse together. Heinemann and Viehweger (1991) argue that "strategies mediate between communicative functions and objects deduced from the interaction and the social conditions of interacting partners and, on the other hand, the realization of linguistic (or extra-linguistic) means and their structuration" (p. 215). From these definitions, the authors determine that strategy applies to discursive social activities that are planned to reach a particular end. From this definition of strategy, the authors develop a list of macro-strategies that assist in understanding how national identity is discursively constructed. The four macro-strategies the authors identify are constructive strategies, perpetuation strategies, strategies of transformation, and dismantling or destructive strategies, all of which occur simultaneously and are interwoven (Wodak et al., 2009). I use each of Wodak et al.'s (2009) macro-strategies, discussed below, to determine the micro-strategies within the presidential discourses that more closely define the strategies presidents use to define or construct national identity.

Constructive strategies are the most comprehensive of the macro-strategies. This strategy promotes unity and solidarity, often through differentiation. Perpetuation strategies reproduce, support, and protect a threatened identity. This macro-strategy can

also be considered a strategy of justification as justification of the status quo through use of collective memory of the past to create a 'we-group' to defend an identity that is threatened is also very common. The third strategy, the strategies of transformation use subtle rhetoric to shift identity to a new form conceptualized by the speaker. Finally, the dismantling or destructive strategy destroys the current identity but does not give direction as to what should replace it. While these macro-strategies are generalizable as a methodological, categorical approach, further, more in depth analysis within these macro-strategies to reveal micro-strategies is necessary to fully deduce the linguistic mechanisms that discursively construct national identity. The sub-categories or micro-strategies researchers identify are content and text dependent; the authors provide examples of multiple micro-strategies within each macro-strategy that are identified after analysis of texts is complete. Thus, in the present study, I will identify micro-strategies within the texts analyzed that lead to the discursive construction of national identity.

Means and Forms of Realization

Means are the linguistic mechanisms that lead to the forms of realization, which are the elements of the discursive construction of national identity. This portion of the methodological framework focuses on lexical units and syntactic devices that construct unity, similarity, difference, change, continuity, and origin. For the analysis of American national identity, inclusion and exclusion through use of pronouns is vital to understanding the strategies previously discussed. The most important linguistic mechanisms Wodak et al. (2009) focused on in their study were personal reference

through pronouns, spatial references including actual place and inclusion/exclusion of people, and temporal reference.

The Use of Metaphor

To analyze the linguistic mechanisms and forms of realization, Wodak et al. (2009) focus on the three tropes of metaphor as a key method in creating particularly the constructive discursive strategies. Metaphors are especially useful in this regard as they create sameness and difference among people and objects. The three tropes named and utilized by the authors are metonymy, synecdoche, and personification.

Metonymy conceals sameness between people, replacing the "name of the referent by the name of an entity which is closely associated with it in either concrete or abstract terms" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 43). By using this linguistic mechanism, agency is granted to institutions, time, and places, and people are considered to be subsumed into these categories or entities (Wodak et al., 2009). When considering national identity and higher education in the US, giving the government, higher education, and the nation-state itself agency through this linguistic mechanism is particularly relevant to the perceived responsibility of the named entities as well as the potential power of policy decisions.

Synecdoche "replaces the name of a referent by the name of another referent which belongs to the same field of meaning and which is either semantically wider or semantically narrower" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 43). The two synecdoches most important to the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity are generalizing and particularizing. Generalizing synecdoches replace narrow expressions with wider expressions, such as whole for part or plural for singular. Particularizing

synecdoches replace wide expressions with narrower expressions, such as part for whole, or singular for plural. In addition, the authors consider it important to note the conceptual synecdoche of controller for controlled, established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Controller for controlled occurs when a ruler or person in power replaces the person or people actually doing an action. Wodak et al. (2009) agree this is an important point to consider in the context of their study, not just in synecdoche, but in metonymy as well (Wodak et al., 2009).

The third trope, personification, gives abstract entities human qualities thus constituting "a widely-used means of realizing a constructive strategy, demanding, for example, identification with an anthropomorphized nation" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 43). Personification metaphors are used to "give meaning to the phenomena of the world in humanized, anthropomorphized form" thus this type of metaphor:

> . . . posses[ses] high suggestive force. In reference to the mental construct of the nation, these metaphors also imply intra-national sameness and equality. The very vividness of such metaphors, moreover, favours identification of the adressees with that of the personified collective subjects. In this way, they serve the strategy of animation (p. 44).

'We'

The deictic 'we' is another linguistic means to create sameness, outside of the tropes. 'We-groups' can be exclusive or inclusive, and contains fairly broad means of categorization; several important uses of the deictic we are explained in the established framework, and those equally relevant to my study are discussed here. The metonymic 'we' includes the speaker, those present, and other third persons not present. This allows

presidents to persuade the audience that the narrative is for all members of the imagined community. The synecdochal or paternalistic use of 'we' uses 'we' instead of 'you' and "functions linguistically to obscure or trivialize a limited degree of self-determined on the part of the person addressed, that is, it reflects an asymmetrical power relation between the interactants which it thus tries to make more bearable" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 46). The historical 'we' expands 'I,' 'you,' and 'we' to include both living and dead people. It is a means for the speaker to "participate vicariously by linguistic annexation" in past achievements (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 46). And finally, the person for country 'we,' a mechanism used to refer to the actual nation as people; a 'we' body or national body (Wodak et al., 2009), an important mechanism in constructing the imagined community.

Policy Paradigms

Hall's (1993) approach to the understanding of policy creation by those in power using hegemonic ideological code to their advantage, involves three stages of policy creation that lead to an ideological shift when policy is negotiated. By utilizing this lens, each stage reveals a step towards the acknowledgement, acceptance, and pervasiveness of the imagined national identity.

Ideological shifts and variations of national identity throughout history, although still deeply rooted in similar foundations, are the result of paradigm shifts. Paradigm shifts are a sociological process in which a set of judgments with political underpinnings influence changes in identity and/or ideological norms causing change in power dynamics for actors and processes when the shift occurs (Hall, 1993). In order for a paradigm shift to occur, and be so pervasive that it impact an imagined community's

construction of identity, discursive changes occur that create a set of strategies and goals for policy paradigms that once embedded in political narrative practice, create a policy paradigm that facilitates the paradigm shift (Hall, 1993).

According to Hall (1993), policy paradigms are discourses that create the framework of ideas and the standards that policymakers use and function within to determine the goals of the policy and the instruments and settings to initiate and accomplish the policy. The discourses that influence these ideas are deeply embedded and are key to understanding the relationship between the autonomous state and the pressures from social actors to initiate policy. Considering state theory and the relationship between state and society, policymakers must consider policy legacy and the direct influence of past policy, enlist experts in the field to assist in policy development, and recognize the autonomy of the state from social pressures when developing policy. Hall (1993) argues that this relationship is found through discourse which creates "what the economic world is like" (p. 279), defines how to observe that world, establishes what goals can be attained through relevant policy, and the instruments to employ to meet those goals.

Hall's (1993) policy paradigm considers changes in policy within three orders; defined by changes in the three variables that guide policy, goals, instruments used to attain those goals, and the precise settings of the instruments. First order changes are incremental occurring only when there is a change in settings when new knowledge is realized or past experiences guide an adjustment. In the case of the United States, a President signifies a change in direction for the nation, the setting for what is expected in

policy. When inaugurated, a President situates himself in history, references past leaders that he aspires to liken himself to, and poses potential directions he intends to steer the nation and its representatives in Congress. Additionally, and more directly, in the annual State of the Union addresses, Presidents have the opportunity to clearly state the agenda, or settings, they propose for Congress to follow. Neither of these addresses have the power of policy behind them, but they set the stage for what the goals will be and the expectations of the speaker of the nation (Campbell & Jamesion, 2008).

Second order changes require strategic action and are signified by a change in instruments used to facilitate the settings in reaching the goals set forth by policymakers (Hall, 1993). This is accomplished through presidential commissions and reports, general public addresses and press releases from the office of the president, and policies that impact but do not directly address the social institution studied, in this case higher education. While second order changes, or changes in instruments may not be as obvious to the observer, in analyzing discourse this becomes apparent when the language used in settings created by the president become commonplace in the spoken and written descriptions of the issue at hand. Clusters of phrases and repetition of words that are charged with purpose by the political figure delivering the message represent a second order change, identifiable through diachronic analysis of use of terms and the shifts these discursive practices facilitate.

Most noticeable are third order changes in which all three policy components change; the equivalent of a paradigm shift. Third order changes are a sociological process in which a set of judgments with political underpinnings influence the change(s)

causing change in power dynamics for actors and processes when the shift occurs. In the case of higher education, paradigm shifts are realized when federal legislation is enacted that directly impacts the function and purpose of higher education. Reflective of the identity of the nation, which the social institution of higher education is responsible to create and perpetuate in the United States, universities must comply with the policy paradigms and in turn recreate the imagined community of the nation through its work as an institution of education and/or research. As a result, the university embodies the dominant ideological identity of the nation at the historical moment. Thus a paradigm shift occurs as higher education perpetuates the ideal identity of the nation by implementation of federal legislation that directly impacts its function as a social institution.

Last, the role of policy failure or experimentation when an anomaly emerges is very important to the possibility of a paradigm shift in policy. In this case, an anomaly presents and policy must be altered. If this change causes failure, the result is a paradigm shift, which causes a shift in authority, and often reaches beyond the state. This disjuncture of third order change continues until a new authority over the new paradigm is conferred. This power is realized when the policy paradigm is coherent and strong enough to fend off societal pressures, declaring it is no longer vulnerable. This paradigm is then reflective of hegemonic political discourse, and charts the path for related future policy (Hall, 1993).

While the connection between ideology and policy is clearly established through Hall's (1993) work on policy paradigms as a progression through phases of discursive

influence in policy formation, St. John and Parsons (2004) urge researchers to be wary of various policy paradigm perspectives, as they often negate theory as they rely on codes and models, arguing that policy results from technical and rational choices, missing the embedded ideological frameworks that influence policy. In the case of Hall's (1993) work, the theoretical constructs are defined, and not left as a mechanism for linking policy to demand as St. John and Parsons (2004) present the same rhetoric; in agreement with the assessment by Jessop (2008b) that policy paradigms have a performative force that help shape, stabilize, and even consolidate the phenomenon under consideration, I argue that Hall's (1993) theory of policy paradigms does meet that request of St. John and Parsons (2004) for researchers to focus on the underlying policy discourse by way of theory, critically analyzing why and how policy is written.

The work of St. John and Parsons (2004) in theorizing the end of policy consensus in higher education policy is an important complement to the establishment of a timeline and salient points to which I direct my study based on the framework created by Hall (1993), in conjunction with the discursive construction of national identity framework previously discussed, and methods, discussed in the following section, presented in the work by Wodak et al. (2009). When addressing the need for more work in policy analysis from a theoretical perspective, St. John and Parsons (2004) attribute the consensus in the higher education policy arena in the first half of the 20th century as a reason the field of inquiry is relatively under-developed. This policy consensus, the authors argue, was evident in the passing of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA). St. John and Parsons (2004) state: "With appropriate federal support, education could end

racism, promote social justice, end unemployment, win the space race, and bring about other untold social and economic good as America build the Great Society" (p. 5). After HEA was signed into law, political actors from both sides of the aisle agreed on issues related to higher education; there was a common language, values were agreed upon, and the goals of higher education were uncontested. The only political disagreements that emerged with the HEA centered on the means to accomplish all of the agreed upon goals.

The policy consensus of the 1960s continued until the 1980s when strategic planning emerged, new funding strategies were employed, and there was a general economic decline coupled with disengagement with the social justice agenda for higher education that was established in the 1960s. By the 1990s, what consensus had survived was no longer evidenced in policy or policy analysis; in the 21st century, the politics of higher education are more contested now than at any point in the 20th century, making the study and means of study of higher education policy more important than any other period in history to this point. These junctures—the establishment of a policy consensus and the eventual demise of that consensus and current challenges—will be explored in my study through the lens of Hall's (1993) policy paradigms. As a result of my approach to establishing policy paradigms, in part employing St. John and Parsons's (2004) work as a directive for analysis, the framework I am negotiating will begin to address the call the authors make to "develop new, theoretically grounded perspectives on policy development in . . . higher education" to "build a better understanding of the ways policy research can inform political decisions about higher education policy" (p. 11).

Higher Education and the Nation-state

Higher education's purpose and relationship to the nation-state has changed and developed over the course of the institution's history, particularly in relation to developments in the nation as a whole. As states formed after the Revolution, universities were formed to teach patriots to be leaders (Geiger, 2005). During the formative years of the 19th century, the United States expanded and consolidated power, just as the universities were expanded and consolidated (Duryea, 2000). With the dawn of the Second Industrial Revolution after the Civil War, land grant colleges were founded, and at the turn of the 20th century to the period of the Great War, curriculums were vocationalized to support industrial and agricultural growth in the United States. While these developments and transformations in both American society and higher education had profound impacts on the future of higher education, none were as great as those following World War II (Geiger, 2005).

Universities in 20th Century America

The most tumultuous period in higher education history was the period following the Second World War to the 1970s. There were unprecedented demands for enrollment (Geiger, 2005) as well as great debate over the proper direction of higher education; to maintain an academic haven, become a tool for economic growth, or to be a means for social transformation (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988; Schugurensky, 2006). After the passing of the GI Bill in 1944, enrollment surged and institutions adapted to meet the demand for not simply physical space, but programs that the students desired. These programs ultimately benefit the post-war nation, supporting many technological

advancements made during the war and bringing the social issues that emerged to the forefront of concern. In the 1950s, however, there was a slight decline in enrollment, only to be recovered when the baby boom generation reached college age in the 1960s (Geiger, 2005; Thelin, 2011).

The 1960s saw dramatic changes on college campuses as the nation was engulfed in the Cold War. After Sputnik in 1957, the federal government bolstered financial support for research in higher education through the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to maintain status as a leader in technology. While federal support for research in universities was welcomed and needed, the students of the 1960s did not agree that this was in fact a benefit to the social institution. Rather, the students of the 1960s called for socially oriented research; research that would offer a means to an end to social injustices in the United States and abroad. Efforts were made by the nation to support access through the Higher Education Act of 1965 that provided need based funding for students, but this only addressed one issue. The students demanded that research agendas and subsequent funding changed as they argued that supporting technological dominance was not wholly beneficial to society; higher education and the national government responded, albeit not in the favor of the students (Geiger, 2005).

As enrollment patterns changed and students became vocal about their wishes for the purpose and future of higher education, debates ensued within the halls of academe as to the appropriate course for the future of the institution; a debate that was well underway in the post-war era and continued to the latter decades of the 20th century, coming to a pivotal transformation in the 1990s. The themes of academic haven, economic growth,

and social transformation as missions of the university were favored and contested by various scholars across the second half of the 20th century (Schugurensky, 2006).

The academic haven was supported by scholars who were critical of the changes in higher education to meet external demands as they "argued that the academic and moral integrity of Western higher education was being eroded by the pursuit of utilitarian aims, by the politicization of knowledge, by massive expansion, and by the lowering of standards" (Schugurensky, 2006, p. 303). To alleviate or save the university from such a fate, scholars called for increased autonomy and support of academic freedom to assist the university in avoiding external pressures. Critics suggest the raising of standards, lowering enrollments, eliminating vocational educational programs, and ceasing community involvement to address this issue (Schugurensky, 2006; see also Bloom, 1987; D'Souza, 1991; Hutchins, 1944).

The second vision, universities serving for economic growth, was inspired by early human capital theory (Schultz, 1961). In this version of purpose, the university is to focus on technical programs to support knowledge industries. To meet this demand, universities must increase enrollment, work with industry, add more vocational programs, and implement business practices in governance and functions of the institution (Schugurensky, 2006).

Finally, the third competing vision synonymous with the calls set forth by students in the late 1960s and early 1970s is that of the university as a tool for social transformation. Supporters, influenced by works such as those by Freire (1967, 1970) and Illich (1971), argued that "universities have an obligation to contribute not only to

the equalization of educational opportunities but also to collective projects that promote social and environmental justice and ultimately alter existing social, economic, and political relationships" (Schugurensky, 2006, p. 303). For this goal to be attained, students needed to be subjects not objects of learning, and the "gulf between mental and manual work (and thereby the stratified social relations that derive from the division of labor) and the integration of theoretical and practical knowledge" must be reduced through a focus on socially relevant research that would lead to social transformation (Schugurensky, 2006, p. 304).

These competing visions from the 1940s to the 1980s were not simply a discussion; these ideas influenced actors within the universities to work towards one of the proposed goals, thus establishing values and missions for the universities. These values and missions were then realized in social practices, materializing their impact through human agency. Even as impactful as each of the competing visions was over the course of 40 years, by the 1980s a fourth vision emerged, that of the service university. The service university is an enterprise comprised of entrepreneurial academics crafting commodifiable knowledge. Throughout the 1980s it was debated as to whether or not this was a positive or negative position for universities; by the 1990s, it was overwhelmingly publicly considered the appropriate vision for universities in the United States (Schugurensky, 2006).

As a result of the emergence of the service university of the 1980s, and the support of academic capitalism as a means to fund higher education, the entrepreneurial university of the 1990s was established (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). While this transition

to academic capitalist efforts were state supported, and often institutionally supported, this description of the university only partially addresses the transformative issues facing higher education as it prepared for the 21st century (Schugurensky, 2006).

The University and American Society in the 21st Century

As higher education navigates a transformative terrain likened to that of the post-war era (Zusman, 2005), the autonomy of the university is threatened by national, intra-national, and internal challenges to its function and purpose (Jessop et al., 2008; Schugurensky, 2006; Zusman, 2005). Resulting from decreased federal and state funding, issues of access for the masses, accountability measures from external accrediting bodies and governments (Zusman, 2005), as well as market involvement has led the university to transition from an autonomous institution to a heteronomous institution (Schugurensky, 2006).

Historically, universities were influenced heavily by national government legislation and initiatives, as well as economic decline; the difference is that now universities are dependent upon external forces. In this heteronomous university that Schugurensky (2006) identifies, the university is caught between the conflicting forces of laissez-faire economics and government interventionism, reflective of a greater national and intra-national issue. The university exhibits this conflict through goals that represent both market and state demands, commercializing its services to be controlled or at least held accountable by these same outside forces. The university thus becomes a corporatized, customer service enterprise that requires institutions to do more with less and depend on external financial support (Schugurensky, 2006). This heteronomy

influences not just how the institution functions, but how and why research is conducted as well as who is able to attend the university, a social institution that is supposed to be a beacon of hope for those who wish to improve their social or economic status (Zusman, 2005).

Unfortunately, with increased accountability coupled with the need for external funding sources research in universities is heavily influenced by both private and political interests. This is damaging to the work that is completed at universities as it commodifies the researcher and the knowledge gained, influences decisions made by researchers in releasing information, and alters the rank and file of research importance to market value over social value. In addition, privatizing the universities furthers the gap in access; with less funding, federal aid is challenged and tuition rates increase, forcing universities to be more selective in admissions, widening the gap between those the university can and cannot serve (Zusman, 2005).

In the 21st century there are more students enrolled in higher education than ever before (Schugurensky, 2006). This fact withstanding, minority groups and other marginalized populations are still under-represented in higher education. On average, two-thirds of White high school graduates attend college while only one-half of African American and Latino high school graduates attend college, with half of that population enrolling in two-year institutions. The greatest barrier to these marginalized populations is poverty; students cannot afford higher education as tuition is on average 70% of their family income, if they are from the lowest strata of family income, the bottom 25%. This

excludes a large portion of current high school graduates, as well as the impending high school graduates who are less white, and less middle class (Zusman, 2005).

American higher education has traditionally stood as a beacon of hope for the less fortunate; an opportunity to earn a degree that prepares individuals for engaged citizenship and sufficiently situates graduates for gainful employment. Even with growing enrollment, the American public is not evolving to a more engaged and civilized society. As Schugurensky (2006) argues:

> As the 21st century unfolds, it is becoming increasingly clear that technical progress has not necessarily been matched by social or moral progress and that a dramatic expansion of higher education has not necessarily resulted in a more democratic, peaceful, and ethical world…When educational institutions, including universities, are not seriously concerned with the preservation and transmission of basic moral values, they become merely places for workplace and professional training and for research and teaching that are indifferent to human suffering and to social justice. (p. 314)

Since universities are not rising to the challenge to support society over economic or market needs, the question arises as to whether universities have a social responsibility to educate citizens to be contributing members of society (Schugurensky, 2006). Unfortunately, this responsibility is waning as "a college education may be a path to social and economic mobility, but college can also represent a barrier for those unable to gain entrance to the elite institutions that are closely tied to social class" (Zusman, 2005, p. 142). Therefore those marginalized by society are also marginalized by higher education. This is nowhere more evident than through a comparison of the role and purpose of the university to the American community college.

The American Community College

The American community college's origins, role, and purpose in the ranks of higher education, and American society more broadly, are contested in the literature. The divisions in scholarship center around whether or not the community college is an egalitarian institution, the greatest social exemplar of democratic educational opportunity, or if it is an institution created to support university selectivity, respond to business and economic demands, or an institution that perhaps pigeon holes students into a lower socio-economic status (Dougherty, 1994). This debate of purpose in American society began with the inception of the community college at the turn of the 20th century (Dougherty & Townsend, 2006), has evolved with changes and challenges throughout the 20th century (Dougherty, 1994), and again at the turn of the 21st century faces scrutiny and challenge to determine its institutional purpose in the ranks of higher education and society (Levin, 2000).

The 20th Century Community College

Due to increased pressure on education to support a growing industrial nation that exemplified support for higher education through the establishment of the land grant colleges at the end of the 19th century, the community college emerged as a means to support the demands for increased access to higher education and increase the educated populace, a means to a better society (Cohen & Brawer, 2008). The early community colleges were able to construct their position in the hierarchy by serving populations that would otherwise not attend a university immediately after high school; it was an

affordable, first two years of transferrable liberal arts college education that provided a means to an otherwise difficult aspiration based on location and economic status.

As the community colleges grew in number, and demands of an advancing society grew, the focus and purpose of the community college education began to change. In the 1920s, the curriculum became increasingly vocational to assist graduates in attaining mid-level positions in business and industry. This began the dual role of the community college—to support a liberal arts and general education curriculum for transferability to the university as well as vocational training to create educated workers—that persisted until the 1960s. The dual role was negotiated and continued as a result of social, economic, and industrial needs promulgated by world wars and their impacts on domestic changes and challenges. In addition, this new found niche of vocational training did separate the community college from the university, moving the institution away from the assumption that it was second class to the university (Brint & Karabel, 1991).

This dual role continued to be the norm in community college mission until the 1990s (Levin, 2000). The 1990s saw a shift in focus from the dual role of preparation for transfer and vocational training to serving economic ends. At the end of the 20th century, organizations responded to demands of the marketplace, not the students, changing the focus to educating a workforce to meet economic demands. This shift removes the local, community importance of the community college and replaces it with serving the economy more generally by producing labor, both goals which support the middle class, not the students the college is supposed to serve (Levin, 2000).

The 21st Century Community College

The changing mission of the community college to respond to market demands and focus on infusing the labor market with human capital is of great importance as the population of students attending community colleges is increasing in the 21st century. Due to increased university tuition and continued selectivity, more American college hopefuls are finding the community college to be their only option for higher education (Dougherty & Townsend, 2006). In addition, as traditionally the case, the community college serves large populations of students from low socio-economic backgrounds, many of which are from marginalized or minority populations (Ayers, 2005). Because of this focus on vocational training to meet market needs and the availability of open access and lower tuition education, the community college is "instrumental in reproducing the class inequalities associated with advanced capitalism" (Ayers, 2005, p. 528) as these goals serve the elite through the perpetuation of social class divisions in American society.

The perpetuation of classism facilitated by the community college is not a new phenomenon; critics argue that this was the case even in the early community colleges as they served the cast-offs of the university and supported the university's will to be selective and control the market of college degree holding citizens (Brint & Karabel, 1991; Dougherty & Townsend, 2006; Labaree, 1990). Furthermore, the students who attend community colleges, often disadvantaged before attending, are less likely to continue their education at the university as a result of substituting the associate's degree for a baccalaureate degree under the false pretense that the two year degree will result in

lucrative employment (Dougherty, 1994). Unfortunately, "[f]our year college entrants and graduates enjoy a considerable advantage over their community college counterparts on a variety of economic yardsticks, including occupational status, hourly and yearly income, and protection from unemployment" (Dougherty, 1994, p. 59).

As a result of the call for open access the community college responds to, the pressures from business, industry, and the marketplace leaders respond to, and the increasing inaccessibility of universities due to financial crises and rising tuition rates, the community college mission to serve all who want an education is thwarted by systemic societal inequities that disadvantage community college students into lower social classes than their university counterparts. "Because the community college is often the only viable educational option for members of marginalized communities, the structural outcomes of its mission are of great consequence to educators, policymakers, and citizens concerned with social justice and participatory democracy" (Ayers, 2005, p. 528). This problem of opportunity for access and subsequent social class division is representative of a deeply rooted problem in American society; the same divisions based on race, class, and gender are prevalent in broader society and will continue to cause division within the community college as a function and practice (Dougherty & Townsend, 2006).

Conclusion

Through this review of literature and discussion of the conceptual framework guiding the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity, emergent policy paradigms, and the role tertiary higher education has in re-creating, albeit possibly differently, American national identity, I have positioned my theoretical lens and

discussed the implications for analysis and discussion regarding the role of higher education. The review of literature regarding nation-states, national identity and the formation of that identity, and the role of higher education in American society and the dynamics of that relationship over time reveals the timeliness and need for research regarding one of America's greatest social institutions' role in the formation of national identity as we as a people are situated on the cusp of a changing neoliberal, global social and economic network that challenges every nation-state's culture to the core of its imagined identity. Additionally, to the credit of the theoretical lens, the framework presented is closely aligned with the work of Wodak et al. (2009) in which the discursive construction of Austria's national identity is analyzed; how I analyze selected texts through this theoretical and methodological framework is discussed in great detail in Chapter III as the two are inextricably linked due to the dialectical nature of discourses and social practices in the formation of identity.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Introduction

The purpose of the research was to determine how presidential discourses construct national identity, what role higher education has in reproducing that identity, and if dominant discourses of identity are divided across class lines in the US. Considering the political and ideological nature of these objectives, the framework previously discussed, the execution of the methods, and the selection of data discussed in this chapter determine the linguistic mechanisms that perpetuate the discursive construction of national identity. I employed methodologies from the tradition of critical discourse analysis, focusing on the approach established by Wodak et al. (2009), detailed previously in Chapter II. In the following chapter, I discuss the rationale for text selection, the data collected, and a detailed account of how I used the previously established framework and methods. Figure 2 represents the historical trajectory and key moments in which I propose a paradigm shift has occurred in federal policy, a proposition discussed in detail in Chapter IV of this manuscript.

Data

Texts selected for analysis register public discourses that create the setting for the creation of policy, the instruments that define the policies, and finally exemplify the paradigm shifts that occur. The texts analyzed contain multiple public discourses from

the federal level, predominantly the office of the presidency, and the subsequent acts of legislation representing the successful shift (see Figure 2). Data included 724 texts (see Table 1) including all presidential inaugural addresses, state of the union addresses, and public statements regarding higher education from 1946 to 2013.

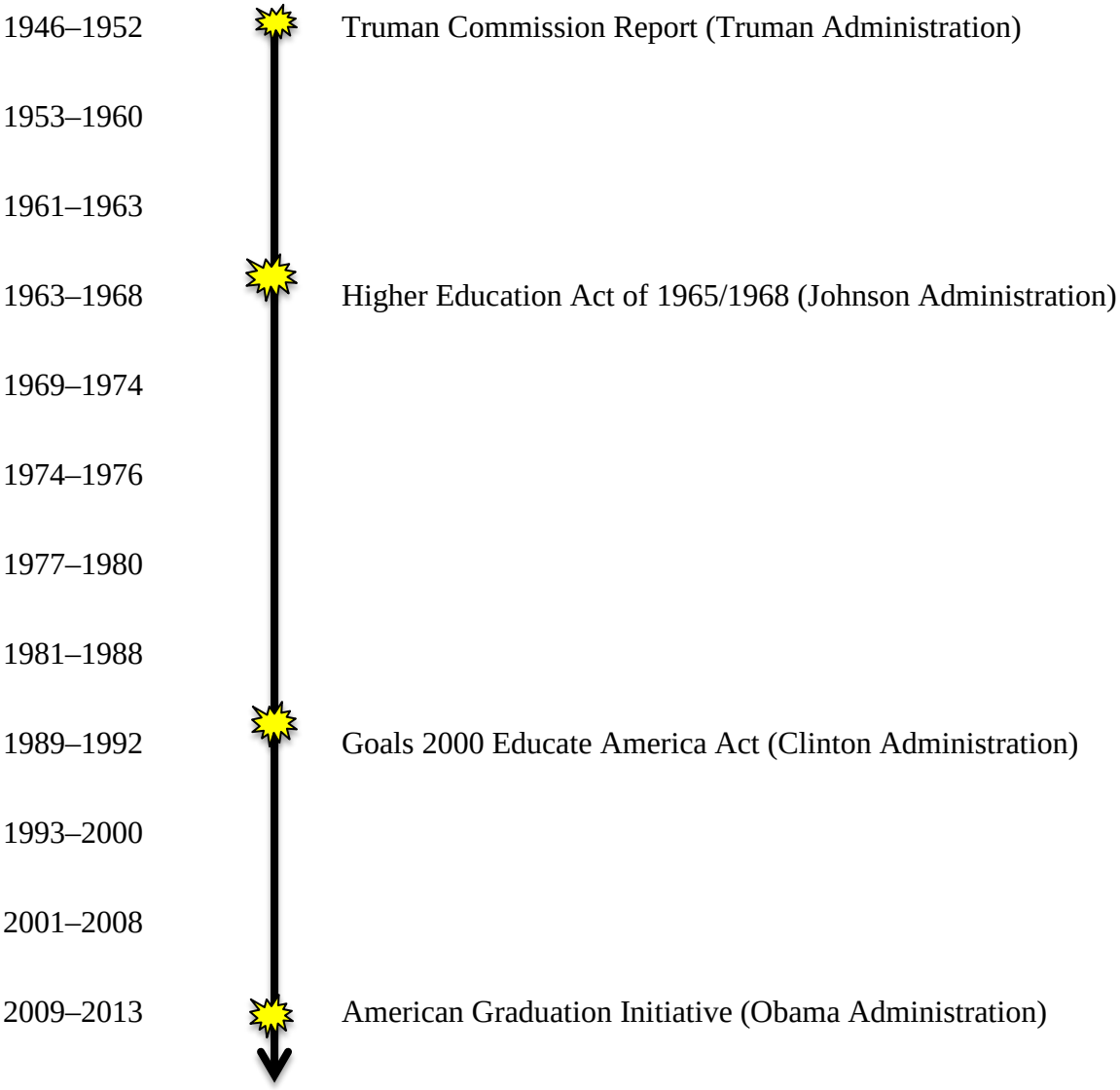


Figure 2. Policy Paradigms Timeline.

Table 1

Higher-Education Related Texts Produced by Presidential Administrations, 1946–2013

President in Office (term in years)	Public Speeches that include Higher Education	Federal Legislation	Presidential Commission Reports	Column Totals
Truman (1945–1953)	26	0	5	31
Eisenhower (1953–1961)	29	1	0	30
Kennedy (1961–1963)	32	3	0	35
Johnson (1963–1969)	49	5	0	54
Nixon (1969–1974)	38	3	1	42
Ford (1974–1977)	32	2	0	34
Carter (1977–1981)	23	3	0	26
Reagan (1981–1989)	55	2	1	58
Bush (1989–1993)	33	5	0	38
Clinton (1993–2001)	194	12	1	207
Bush (2001–2009)	57	12	1	70
Obama (2009–present)	94	4	1	99
Totals	662	52	10	724

The texts were collected from the American Presidency Project (http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/). I entered the term ‘higher education’ in the search mechanism of the site; this allowed me to access speeches that were relevant to higher education. After collecting speeches from each presidential term under consideration, I randomly selected texts to compare to the databases in presidential library archives as well as the White House online archives for accuracy. I also collected all inaugural

addresses and State of the Union addresses from 1946 to 2013. The final text analyzed was the State of the Union address delivered by President Obama in February of 2013.

Rationale for Text Selection

The objective of the analysis of the 724 texts selected in this study was to determine if the texts created an identity for the body politic as well as the imaginary that "constitute[s] communities and individuals" (Schram & Neisser, 1997, p. 4). The federal laws considered have a direct impact on the operations and duties of higher education. These laws were passed by a Congress of elected officials and/or the President in their given eras. Although Congressional party and Presidential party have not always matched, there are historical patterns in voting habits and decisions of members of Congress that represent both political and historical contexts important to higher education law making and policy decisions (Doyle, 2010). The laws are reinforced in the American memory through the support of the President, evident to the public through speeches, press releases, addresses, and signing statements. The discourses the given President uses in the narrative of support is very important to the understanding of the importance and expected impact of the legislation on the social institution that shapes and perpetuates the identity of the nation.

Narrative Practices

Narratives of the state, through policy-making and public addresses, create and explain the state of public affairs which represent and recreate the imaginaries that "constitute communities and individuals" (Schram & Neisser, 1997, p. 4). These narratives cross social and political realms and depend upon the stories of identity and

history that construct not only the "'mythology of America' but also political actors' identities" (Schram & Neisser, 1997, p. 2). By using the dominant narratives to define the state and those wielding power, "selective narrative practices, especially . . . regarding policy problems, are used episodically to construct politically-biased depictions of public problems" (Schram & Neisser, 1997, p. 2). Public problems presented through narrative practices therefore mediate the relationship between individual citizens, between the people and the state, and between states.

In order to understand the rationale for policy-making and to properly analyze public policy, Schram and Neisser (1997) argue that a positivist approach is not enough. Instead, an approach that lends the field of policy studies to be approached from perspectives formerly excluded, such as ". . . Marxism, social constructionism, structuralism, poststructuralism, cultural studies, etc." (p. 6). To employ alternate perspectives, narratives must be considered as representational practices that discursively frame and contextualize policy problems and solutions. These representational practices "mediate what policy-makers, analysts, and citizens take to be the reality and objects of concern of the political process" as well as "which of their concerns are to be included and which are to be excluded" (Schram & Neisser, 1997, p. 6). The narratives created in representational practices also "construct political space itself . . . where it begins and where it ends, who populates it and who does not . . . Stories [or narratives therefore] map space and keep time in ways that impose coherence on identities, interests, and institutionalized groupings" (Schram & Neisser, 1997, p. 6).

The political space in which narrative practices and representations are employed are of utmost importance as political space becomes real and political actors use the narrative scripts for engaging the public and gaining their support. Narratives fill the public political space with a critical shaping of how policy fulfills social truths (Schram & Neisser, 1997) that define the imagined community (Anderson, 2006) in which they live. In the case of the United States, the community is defined as a democratic ideal. This imaginary of democratic idealism that the public accepts is perpetuated by the narratives, the stories that are produced and reproduced through representational practices. According to Lyotard (1984), to use language to create common understanding and communication through any method is to build a narrative that tells a story that defines those involved in the practice. This applies to both people and the collective, as the body politic is created through text as it is denaturalized and cannot be considered as a preexisting natural identity (Schram & Neisser, 1997). This collective identity through the body politic allows politics and policy-making to reinvent the state and the government through a reconstitution of old concerns into new narratives to gain appeal and support (Schram & Neisser, 1997).

Given this lens of approaching discourse as representational practices, metanarratives, as described by Lyotard (1984) as a means to institutionalize the context of narratives, link specific policy concerns to enduring narratives, such as narratives that support and recreate idealistic narratives and attributes of the state; its perpetuation of national identity. Thus, as Schram and Neisser (1997) posit:

> America comes to be materialized through discourse, embodied in its citizenry, and represented in the state . . . In other words, both mundane stories of daily life and dramatic accounts from the frontlines of battle execute a sort of narrative statecraft by reinforcing the banal truths by which political institutions operate, thereby serving to buttress the processes by which identities and practices are or are not affirmed. (p. 10)

Accepting the role of narrative as representational discursive practice, the question regarding why some narratives become dominant emerges (Schram & Neisser, 1997). This occurs as a result of the hegemonic reach of ideological idealism; the discourse that reconstitutes and constructs the identity of the state. In this analysis, the imagined community is identified and the democratic identity of the imagined community accepted by the public is perpetuated in politics through policy and public leaders in the United States. In the present analysis, the imagined community is identified and accepted by the public, is perpetuated through policy and by public leaders, creating an ideal identity of the state.

Presidential Discourse

Through the narrative practices of presidents, reality is mediated and the identity of the nation is created; notably through the President's performance as "an embodiment of the American populous, representing hopes and fears through the arts of communication" (White, 1997, p. 53). The President is an actor in an historical moment, and how they use narrative discourse to communicate and connect with the American public is of the utmost importance. Presidents communicate the "American ideology" through their role as spokesman for the nation, and as the arbiter of national identity (White, 1997, p. 54). In order to fully understand how national identity is imagined and

accepted in law and Presidential narrative, texts must be critically analyzed through theoretical lenses that bring the phenomenon of imagined identity to the forefront of the consciousness of the American public (Schram & Neisser, 1997). In order to do this effectively, the researcher must study policy and discourses to reveal ideological narratives, but realize that:

> . . . alone, the textual deconstruction of a policy discourse is insufficient to reveal the policy's social meaning. To allow us to understand the force of prevailing policy stories, to let us grasp how they came to take hold in public consciousness, to provide us with a basis for engaging them, critical discourse needs to confront the specific historical and social conditions that sustained their original acceptance. (Kling, 1997, p. 150)

Thus, the Presidency itself, the historical moment in which that President functioned, and the environment that bred the need for the legislation studied are key to understanding how the discursive practices created the national imagined identity. Researchers must pull from the literature of time and history and contextualize how discourses were influenced and constructed to create political reality, the public, and the presidency itself (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008).

The presidency as an office was not specified in the Constitution by the founders of the United States; it has been rhetorically constructed through historical discourse recreated and employed by the man who occupied its space. Through the role of the president, his position in the hierarchy of the government, his ability to attain a national audience through media, and the customs that have resulted from speaking expectations and engagements have negotiated an office that speaks for and to the public, defining the American people and the nation in which they live. This places immense power in the

rhetorical action created through discourses by the President, offers insight into the historical context of the action, and allows the presidency to control the identity of the nation once the public is defined (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008).

Inaugural Addresses

Inaugural addresses are ceremonial transitions in which the incoming President has the opportunity to create a public memory of what they stand for represent their goals for their time in office without action. These speeches are typically focused on renewing the "covenant between the citizenry and their leaders" (p. 29) and provide an opportune time for the incoming President to establish rapport with the constituency by defining the public and creating unity by situating the public as "the people" (p. 31), providing a context for democratic idealism and identity (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008). They accomplish this through epideictic speech, making connections between the past and present, reinforcing a common history and shared past, as well as making clear connections between past national identity, shared principles and traditional values, and the intention of the incoming office to maintain the democratic ideals supported by past, successful and beloved Presidents. Through the epideictic inaugural address, the President must prove investment in national values and democratic idealism. As Campbell and Jamieson (2007) note:

> In order to be invested, presidents must demonstrate their qualifications for office by venerating the past and showing that the traditions of the presidency will continue unbroken with them. They must affirm that they will transmit the institution intact to their successors. Consequently, the language of conservation, preservation, maintenance, and renewal pervades these speeches. What we conserve and renew is often sanctified as our 'creed,' our 'faith,' or our sacred 'trust.' (p. 37)

This discourse must also be timeless, transcending the historical moment in which a President addresses the nation reaffirms the past and articulates eloquently the reconstitution of the existing community and traditional values that the public expects from the office (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008).

State of the Union Addresses

The State of the Union annual address by the President before Congress, the Justices of the Supreme Court, and the heads of the various branches of the military occurs as a result of custom as such a report is mandated by the Constitution, albeit not required to be a public address. In this address, the President has the opportunity to be the "national historian," constructing the past in order to create the future, involving the officers of the federal government and the general public in creating the reality of the nation and its identity once that reality is discursively impressed upon the people (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008, p. 137). The state of the union address, according to Campbell and Jamieson (2008) contains three parts; the "meditations on values," assessment of issues, and recommendations of policy to Congress (p. 139). Through these measures, the President "create[s] and celebrate[s] a national identity, tie[s] together the past, present, and future, and sustain[s] the presidential role" (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008, p. 139). Through meditations on values, the President reinforces the accepted national identity that creates unity among the people that constitute the public. The assessment of issues and recommendations to Congress shows that the President is aware of what troubles the public, and offers his recommendations as to what legislative actions could be made to alleviate what is ailing the nation in that historical moment.

This address is thus “one symbolic moment in which the head of state has woven the cloth of common national history, character, and identity” (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008, p. 140).

Signing Statements and Press Releases

Signing statements and general press releases regarding relevant legislation are included in the analysis as they are not grand ceremonial acts; they are a moment in which the President seizes the opportunity to express support of legislation or discussions regarding potential legislation to his national audience. This is an important moment in which the President acts as the “national host” (White, 1997, p. 54) as he is able to readily connect with the general population through various medias, currently through immediate electronic media outlets (Schram & Neisser, 1997). These less publicized discursive moments of the presidency are important moments of communication in which the President does have the opportunity to connect with the people, reminding them that he is interested in alleviating their struggles and he does represent and understand the people (White, 1997).

Executive Orders and Proclamations

Executive orders and proclamations are legislative powers granted to the office of the presidency by the constitution. While not immediately laws upon their writing, executive orders and proclamations do carry the weight of the law and are punishable should they be disobeyed; however, these powers cannot “supersede statutes or counter existing legislation” (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008, p. 349). Executive orders allow the president to issue orders to assist in the implementation or interpretation of laws or

treaties and do have the ability to be enacted into law once determined by Congress to appropriately represent the legislative authority granted to the presidency. Proclamations, while enforceable through law, do not represent a legislative act by the president. Proclamations often recognize social entities or create days of recognition. In addition to acts of semblance, proclamations are a method by which a president can determine the nation's stance on issues of great substance, such as Washington's 1793 proclamation of neutrality when Britain and France engaged in war; a proclamation that stated the US would maintain friendly relationships with the warring nations and not intervene. While proclamations such as these have the potential to greatly impact the course of historical events and invoke social criticism, they are not law, but may be enforced should citizens act in direct opposition to proclamations (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008).

Selection of Laws

Federal legislation regarding higher education has typically been in response to a national need that higher education could fill. While the means to that end were often different, and prompted by various historical circumstances, Congress chose to act in order to facilitate growth for the nation as a whole (Doyle, 2010). The laws selected to analyze as the result of paradigmatic shifts in federal legislation are laws that directly influence the function and purpose of higher education are included. Furthermore, only laws passed by Congress during the period under consideration are included in this analysis and will be discussed in detail in the findings.

Method of Analysis

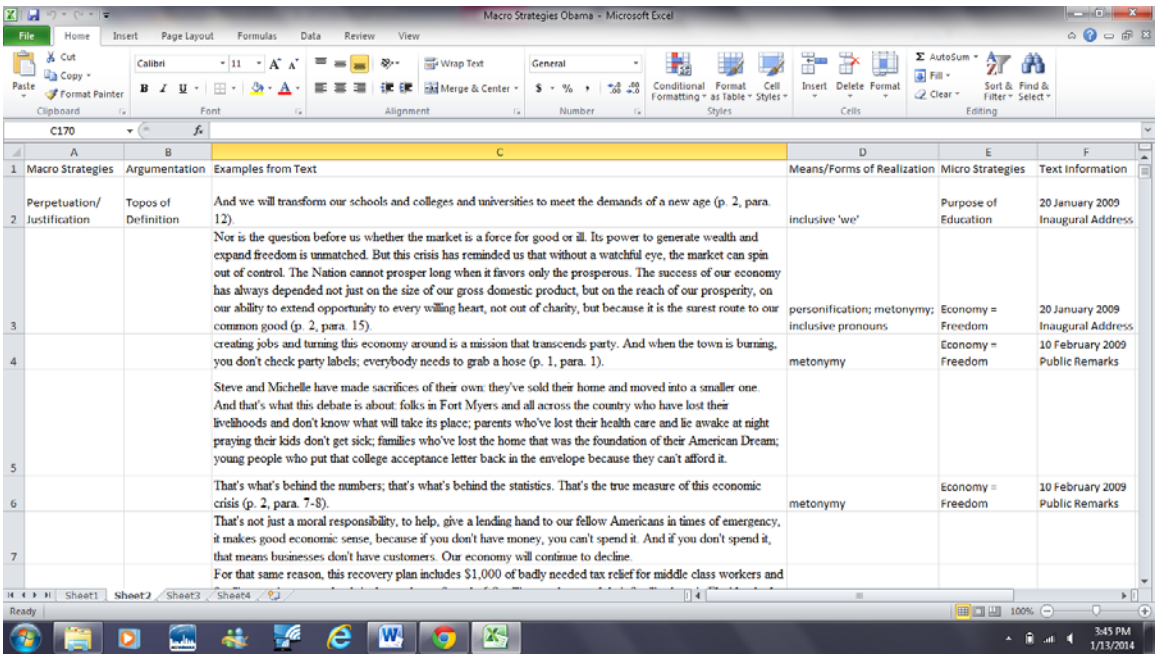
The 724 texts were analyzed using the methods established by Wodak et al. (2009), discussed in great detail in Chapter II. In the following sections I provide an account of how I employed the methods of Wodak et al. (2009) to analyze the data set to reveal the discursive construction of national identity in presidential narrative, the dominant discursive identity that emerges, and how higher education as a social institution is engaged in the reproduction of the dominant ideology. The findings based on the presented data and methods are discussed in Chapter IV of this manuscript.

Analysis of Texts

I analyzed the texts in the chronological order they were delivered by each president, rather than by text type, one administration at a time. This allowed me to analyze the linguistic mechanisms in the texts in great detail as each president's narrative style was different from others; becoming acquainted with the stylistic differences between the presidents was important for me to be comfortable with the data and complete a robust, detailed analysis of a very large data set.

Organization of analysis. During analysis of each text, I noted portions of text that referenced the nation and/or higher education. After noting the text relevant to the study, I extracted quotes and entered them onto spreadsheets I created that represent the methods of Wodak et al. (2009). The spreadsheets are organized using the macro-strategies established in the framework, inclusion of the text, the linguistic mechanisms used in that text selection to discursively construct national identity, the micro-strategies

that emerge from the text, and the text citation. An example from one spreadsheet is shown in Figure 3.



	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Macro Strategies	Argumentation	Examples from Text	Means/Forms of Realization	Micro Strategies	Text Information
2	Perpetuation/ Justification	Topos of Definition	And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age (p. 2, para. 12).	inclusive 'we'	Purpose of Education	20 January 2009 Inaugural Address
3			Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The Nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart, not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good (p. 2, para. 15)	personification; metonymy; inclusive pronouns	Economy = Freedom	20 January 2009 Inaugural Address
4			creating jobs and turning this economy around is a mission that transcends party. And when the town is burning, you don't check party labels; everybody needs to grab a hose (p. 1, para. 1).	metonymy	Economy = Freedom	10 February 2009 Public Remarks
5			Steve and Michelle have made sacrifices of their own: they've sold their home and moved into a smaller one. And that's what this debate is about: folks in Fort Myers and all across the country who have lost their livelihoods and don't know what will take its place; parents who've lost their health care and lie awake at night praying their kids don't get sick; families who've lost the home that was the foundation of their American Dream; young people who put that college acceptance letter back in the envelope because they can't afford it.			
6			That's what's behind the numbers; that's what's behind the statistics. That's the true measure of this economic crisis (p. 2, para. 7-8).	metonymy	Economy = Freedom	10 February 2009 Public Remarks
7			That's not just a moral responsibility, to help, give a lending hand to our fellow Americans in times of emergency, it makes good economic sense, because if you don't have money, you can't spend it. And if you don't spend it, that means businesses don't have customers. Our economy will continue to decline.			
			For that same reason, this recovery plan includes $1,000 of badly needed tax relief for middle class workers and			

Figure 3. Sample Spreadsheet.

While this set of spreadsheets (one spreadsheet set per presidential administration was created) most closely represents the objectives of this study, I did include a spreadsheet for each point of linguistic strategies (tropes, contents, and deictic ‘we’) in the framework individually to keep a running list of pertinent information that may serve as supporting data in the final narrative of the findings. Additionally, I kept a spreadsheet of notes; notes from textual data, special notations regarding how presidents speak differently about community colleges and universities, and researcher notes that serve as reminders, thoughts concerning analysis, notes on emerging patterns, and questions I raise regarding the framework and limitations of the study.

The macro-strategy spreadsheets that become the central site of textual analysis and the linguistic mechanisms that craft the means and forms of realization that create the discursive construction of national identity follows a pattern similar to that of Wodak et al.'s (2009) work and the method the authors use in presenting their findings. Through the macro-strategy organization, themes emerge within presidential administrations, and across presidential administrations; both are discussed in depth in Chapter IV.

Selection of text segments. Portions of the texts analyzed were cut and paste into the appropriate data organizing spreadsheet. The segments of texts were carefully selected based on the following criteria: the quotes selected had to include reference(s) to the nation, to social actors in the nation, social institutions that comprise the nation, or to education.

Linguistic mechanisms. Once text segments were selected, I noted the linguistic mechanisms that speakers used to construct national identity or the role of higher education in the US. This included specific notations regarding use of tropes (metonymy and personification most notably), contents (common political past, common political present and future, homo nationalis, and common culture), and the deictic 'we' (inclusive, exclusive, and person for country being the most utilized). One notable distinction in my analysis versus Wodak et al.'s (2009) work is in the contents. The study of Austrian national identity focused on the common past separate from the present and future. I found that US presidents often referenced the past, present, and future within the same sentence to reinforce the legitimacy of an issue. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Micro-strategies identified. Once the text segments were selected, analyzed, and linguistic mechanisms were established, themes began to emerge in the data. The themes represent the micro-strategies created in the discourse. Micro-strategies were identified in each set of presidential texts; some themes were specific to one president alone, while others were present and developed across all administrations. I coded the micro-strategies with titles that represent the identity crafted and would not tie strategies to a particular time or administration. Once I identified the most salient micro-strategies, I narrowed the focus of the study to include only the strongest, dominant, micro-strategies employed in the discursive construction of national identity, to be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Conclusion

The methods and data used to address the research questions regarding the role of institutions of higher education in the production and reproduction of American cultural identity are consistent with the framework presented in the previous chapters. The complimentary framework and methods presented are ontologically and epistemologically congruent, both aligned with a critical realist orientation to the constitution of real and imagined practices, and allowed me to systematically and carefully analyze texts for discursive moments in which national identity is constituted and enacted by presidents in policy and through the social institution of higher education, which perhaps re-creates the identity differently as a result of the social class the institution most often serves.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter I present findings based upon the analysis of 724 presidential speeches, commission reports, and federal legislation. First, I will present the findings regarding how presidents discursively construct national identity in speeches relevant to higher education. Second, I will provide examples of specific texts for the most salient findings identified in presidential texts. Third, the policy paradigms that emerge in the analysis are presented. Fourth, I present the findings that exemplify how universities and community colleges are expected to reproduce national identity as their purposes are defined by the administrations studied. In Chapter V of this manuscript I will discuss the conclusions that I reach based on the findings presented in this chapter.

Creating National Identity: Micro-strategies Identified

In the presidential speeches, addresses, public statements, and news conferences regarding higher education analyzed, 15 micro-strategies emerged relevant to the research questions posed in this study (see Table 2). Micro-strategies represent themes in the discourses and create the means by which presidents discursively construe national identity. Micro-strategies were identified in each set of presidential texts; some themes were specific to one president alone, while others were present and developed across all administrations.

Table 2

Micro-strategies Identified

Micro-strategy	Presidential Administration
American Superiority	Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, G. H. W. Bush, Clinton, G. W. Bush, Obama
Anthem	Reagan, G. H. W. Bush, Clinton, G. W. Bush, Obama
Call for Change	Kennedy, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Clinton, G. W. Bush, Obama
Call to Action	Clinton, G. W. Bush
Duty	Eisenhower, Johnson, Carter, Reagan, G. H. W. Bush, Clinton, G. W. Bush, Obama
Economy = Freedom	Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, G. H. W. Bush, Clinton, G. W. Bush, Obama
Faith	Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, G. W. Bush, Obama
Fear	Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Clinton, G. W. Bush
Goals	Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, Carter
Imminent Change	Clinton, G. W. Bush
National Security	Truman, Eisenhower, G. W. Bush
Order	Kennedy, Nixon
Purpose of Education	Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton, G. W. Bush, Obama
Responsibility	Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Ford, Reagan
Vow	Kennedy, Johnson, Reagan, G. W. Bush, Obama

I coded the micro-strategies with titles that represent the identity crafted and would not tie strategies to a particular time or administration. To be included in the final 15 micro-strategies, the micro-strategy had to be employed by two or more of the

presidential administrations studied; I did not include any micro-strategy that was used by only one presidential administration. Once I identified the most salient micro-strategies, I narrowed the focus of the study to include only the strongest, dominant, micro-strategies employed in the discursive construction of national identity. I will conclude this section on micro-strategies with an explanation of how and why I selected 3 of the 15 micro-strategies identified as most salient to the research questions and higher education.

American Superiority

In an effort to legitimize policy and political action, presidential speeches often include a comparison to the enemy, or the 'other,' a contrast that invokes an image as opposite of what the administration wishes the public to prescribe to support the identity of the US as superior. After the Second World War through the Cold War era, the most common contrast in presidential discourses is a juxtaposition of the US and the USSR, or any communist nation that the US was engaged in dispute with at the given time. These comparisons include political norms, social values, religious values, economic status, and military strength. After the Cold War, presidents reference fledgling nations who are still recovering from Soviet domination as a comparative point, or they compare the US to new foes, such as those concentrated in the Middle East beginning in the 1990s. The linguistic mechanisms employed to create this micro-strategy typically involved the use of deictic 'we' (inclusive or exclusive), metonymy (giving causal powers to entities such as institutions/nation-states), and establishing a common political past and present.

Anthem

After the Cold War presidential administrations continue to legitimate the US as a superior nation through a constructive strategy that attempts to rally the public for specific values that they argue are synonymous with American culture, or need to be focused upon to maintain superior status. This micro-strategy is a means to the same end as that of American Superiority but is crafted by referencing assumed attributes that the American public already possesses as opposed to juxtaposition to a known enemy. To accomplish this goal presidents employ the inclusive 'we,' personify the nation-state, reference a common past and link the past to the present and future goals, and use metonymy to reinforce the importance of the superior image.

Call for Change

Presidential speeches request the audience to assist them in altering the present course of action, or direction of the nation. In a call for change, presidents state an issue, request assistance, and offer direction for change. These calls for change are directed at macro-level change such as a change in perception, to the micro-level when presidents call for change, for example, in how higher education and the federal government work together. To establish a call for change, presidents established a common political present and future, personified the nation-state, appealed to the audience with the deictic inclusive 'we,' and often posed rhetorical questions to the public.

Call to Action

Call to action is separated from call for change as in this micro-strategy presidents call for change in a specific area or interest with a stated objective or goal. This is

presented to the public as an action that is being taken in their interest and on their behalf by the personified nation-state and paternal government. The presidents who employ this micro-strategy do so as a means to transform a current identity; to change an assumed identity by stating what they do not want and how they intend to replace it on behalf of the members of the nation-state. A common present and future is established to provide direction while inclusive and paternal pronouns are used to personify the nation-state and to solicit support for action on the people's behalf.

Duty

Duty is considered in this case as a moral obligation accepted by the dominant group; a duty the US has accepted as a result of a position of superiority. In this micro-strategy, presidents present a decision or a potential action as a necessary act based upon the moral obligation the US has to a group or another nation-state; this presents the act or decision as indisputable as it is morally reprehensible not to follow through, in turn making the US a morally dominant nation-state, tied to values that transcend time. To differentiate this micro-strategy from responsibility, discussed later in this section, presidents employ the inclusive deictic 'we,' the historically expanding 'we,' temporal references, and various tropes from metonymy to invoke images of superiority to personification of the nation-state.

Economy = Freedom

In this micro-strategy, presidential discourse equates economic status, market capitalist structures more specifically, to freedom. What makes the nation-state great and guarantees people of the nation-state freedom is defined in economic terms. This strategy

assumes that market capitalism is superior, that it complements the economic demands of the nation and its people, and the nation's identity is dependent upon market capitalism. To accomplish this strategy, presidents personify both the nation-state and the economic structures, appeal to the public through the use of inclusive deictic 'we', and metonymy in which metaphors of economic accomplishments, goals, values, or status are equated to an individual's accomplishments, goals, values, and status.

Faith

Many of the presidents considered in this study constructed an identity as a Christian nation-state. In this micro-strategy of faith presidents discuss the relationship between the Christian God and the US; to accomplish this goal, presidents make direct reference to God, quote the Bible, reference the founding fathers' inclusion of Christian reference in founding documents, and promote a moral base embedded in the Christian faith. This micro-strategy assumes a dominance of the Christian faith among the American public and dually serves as a means to compare the dominant US to other, non-Christian or godless nation-states.

Fear

Consistent with a comparison to the enemy to create a dominant status for the United States, presidents create an identity based in fear by comparing the US and its defense strategies and accomplishments to nation-states, such as those of the Communist Bloc or those ruled by non-Christian religious extremists, who arguably have the potential to harm or destroy the US. By crafting a sense of fear of the other, presidents are construing a sense of fear that dismantles the enemy's status and creates a sense of

superiority and need for security or safety for the American public. The means and forms of realization within this micro-strategy include a comparison to the enemy by referencing past events, the exclusive deictic 'we,' and using metaphors of fear and destruction that in turn personify the nation-state as something that can fear, impose fear, destroy, and be destroyed.

Goals

Presidents define goals for the nation as a whole through a perpetuation or justification strategy. Being the spokesperson for the national government and representing the public in the eyes of the world, presidents are charged with charting a course for their administration and the direction of the nation as a whole. Thus they craft goals that provide a map for the nation while they are in office. This micro-strategy is used to convince the public that the goals that define the nation are consistent with the needs and image of the nation-state as a whole; or they are defined as a means to transform the nation to correct past wrongs or meet new challenges. To successfully gain the public's support for the goals in this micro-strategy, presidents use metonymy to exaggerate a point, include the public through the inclusive 'we' in determining the goals, and rely on a common political present and future.

Imminent Change

In this micro-strategy, presidents state that change is occurring; the purpose of this micro-strategy is to establish how the nation-state, the government, and/or its members will adapt, meet, or facilitate the impending change that cannot be avoided. This micro-strategy is crafted by establishing a common past, present, and future,

employing the inclusive ‘we,’ and comparing the present state of affairs to the founding story of the nation to express both the importance of the impending change as well as the nation’s ability to meet and adapt to profound change when faced with adversity. Creating an inclusive identity that depends upon the resilience of the nation embedded in history with a vision for the future crafts an identity that transforms while not excluding the most important remembrances of the past.

National Security

Each president studied includes national security as a focal point of their administration. While they all discuss matters of national security in terms of defense as well as economic security, some presidents use the superior status the US holds in regards to defense and economic security as a means to create an identity of the US as a secure nation. This is most common in Cold War administrations that reference national security as not only a literal, safe position or matter, but also as a way to reassure the public after an event or as a means to create an image of the US as secure in comparison to enemy states. To create this identity, presidents create an exclusive environment for the US public by referencing individuals in place of the nation-state (person for country deictic ‘we’), and personifying the nation-state by describing the nation’s security in terms of character and moral obligation.

Order

The micro-strategy of order is consistently invoked when internal disturbances occur; in other words, when the US has experienced an embarrassing event or the identity is threatened by internal discontent, presidents construe an identity of order in an effort to

settle internal issues and reinvigorate the identity the US reflects to its on-lookers. To effectively create an identity of order, presidents refer to historical, founding documents, connect the past, present and future events, and employs the inclusive 'we' to remind the public that they share in the responsibility of creating an image of order for the US.

Purpose of Education in the Nation-state

In addition to presidents discussing educational policy, they also often define the role of education, and higher education specifically, as it relates to the dominant national identity in their administration's time. Consequently, the purpose of education is defined in terms relevant to other micro-strategies, making this the most comprehensive or cross-strategy micro-strategy, adding to not only the relevance to the current research, but the complex relationship between institutions of education and the nation-state. In addition, and discussed in detail in the next section, presidents state the role of education in maintaining an identity of the nation that perpetuates its status among nations. This micro-strategy could be further divided into subsets based upon education in general, higher education specifically, and the economic purpose of education broadly or higher education specifically. Presidential narratives plainly define and state the purpose of education in many of their public addresses; which purpose prevails in each administration is directly linked to the dominant discursive national identity in the respective time.

Responsibility

Responsibility is separated from duty in discursive micro-strategies because this strategy is based on cause and effect. In this case, the US has assumed responsibility

based on past accomplishments or actions. Through this strategy, presidents legitimate action based upon the obligations assumed resulting from past action, arguing that not meeting that obligation would result in failure and loss of status as a nation-state, tying this strategy directly to American superiority. The most effective mechanism to create the micro-strategy of responsibility is reference to historical documents, founding fathers, and common past. This is often used to legitimate action or decisions made by administrations by grounding their act in tradition.

Vow

Also consistent with Cold War era America, presidents during this period craft an image of strength through the micro-strategy I identify as vow. Presidents make a vow to the public to protect the nation from the enemy; to protect literally and metaphorically against the invasion of enemy action or thought. In addition to making a vow to protect those within the nation, this micro-strategy also sends a strong message to the enemy that the US will not be challenged by inferior ideologies or threats to US security. The means and forms of realization that enable this strategy to be effective include metonymy, personification, and the inclusive/exclusive 'we.'

Focused Findings: Micro-strategies

Fifteen micro-strategies emerged as the most dominant means by which presidential administrations discursively constructed national identity from 1946 to 2013 (see Table 2). Of the 15 themes, seven are salient to the research questions and higher education more specifically: (a) American Superiority, (b) Anthem, (c) Call for Change; (d) Duty, (e) Economy = Freedom, (f) Purpose of Education in the Nation-state, and (g)

Responsibility. However, the focus of the discussion will be centered upon 3 micro-strategies—'American Superiority,' 'Economy = Freedom,' and 'Purpose of Education in the Nation-state'—as these three themes are the only themes present in each presidential administration studied supporting the validity of the conclusion I draw from analytical findings (discussed in detail in Chapter V) that higher education functions as an economic agent that reproduces a discursive national identity that is defined in economic terms; each to be expanded upon in the sections below.

The findings discussed in this section suggest that a dominant discursive national identity that is consistent across all presidential administrations analyzed includes an identity of superiority, defined in economic terms, supported by the reproduction of that identity in the American education system, including but not limited to, higher education, as it is reflective of the superior economic identity of the nation-state as it performs its duty as an economic agent. In the following discussion the three dominant, cross-administration micro-strategies employed by presidents in constructing a discursive national identity are discussed in detail with examples from the textual analysis. I have selected excerpts from each administration for each strategy which represent a collection of relevant texts; each selection is discussed in chronological order by presidential administration analyzed as representations of dominant discourses from the administrations; selected texts are examples from each relevant administration and are presented in order to show a progression over time, or the historical changes or complications in discursive strategies. Included in this discussion is at least one excerpt

from each administration studied, providing exemplary text segments that represent a multitude, as many as several hundred excerpts, of excerpts from the dataset of 724 texts.

American Superiority

In an effort to legitimize policy and political action, presidential speeches often include a comparison to the enemy, or the 'other,' a contrast that invokes a particular image the administration wishes the public to perceive. These comparisons include political norms, social values, religious values, economic status, and military strength. Whereas this identity of American superiority post-World War II is well discussed in works by historians and political scientists, this study maintains that there is a distinct connection between the national identity of superiority, the economic identity, and the role of education in reproducing that identity and thus maintaining superiority during the historical period studied. Additionally, this superiority is an inclusion of all members of the imagined community defined collectively as a superior cultural identity; in the next micro-strategy discussed, 'Economy = Freedom,' individuals are defined by their economic relationship to the nation-state, further strengthening the collective identity of the nation as superior.

In order to create a superior identity, presidents compare the nation and its members as different from an 'other,' typically a known enemy or antithetical system that poses as a threat at the given time. By juxtaposing American systems against, for example, Communist systems, the discourses create an image in which American norms, systems, and values are superior to any other, resulting in a superior status to other nation states. The linguistic mechanisms employed to create this dismantling or destructive

micro-strategy typically involved the use of deictic ‘we’ (inclusive or exclusive), metonymy, and establishing a common political past and present. For example, President Truman stated in 1950:

> In the Message on the State of the Union, I have stressed the fateful role which the United States has come to occupy in the progress of human destiny. Our responsibilities are already determined by the course of world events. But how well we measure up to these responsibilities remains in our own hands. Moral leadership comes first, as we seek to inspire free men everywhere with confidence in their cause. But history proves that many great moral purposes have failed or faltered because the material strength to support them was lacking. The economic power of the United States, at its full potential, is the keystone of this support. (Truman, 1950a, paras. 107–108)

This text excerpt is exemplary of how presidents construe an identity of superiority. In this address the president compares victory to failure; while the actual failure is not plainly stated, the statement is justified through historical reference, or creation of a common political past (Wodak et al., 2009), as well as the present state of affairs and the responsibility that places on the United States to be the superior leader for all of humanity. It is also imperative to note that success of that superior status hinges on two things—moral strength and economic strength. Regardless of what the failures may be in the reference, the way to succeed in becoming a super power in this case is to be morally and economically superior to all other nations seeking superior status.

In the following text selection President Eisenhower describes how individuals can support the superiority of their nation-state by using their superior status to encourage members of the ‘other’ society to strive to be more like Americans. Eisenhower argues

that this stretches beyond the nation's economic status, but also to the education, health, and general well-being of society. He states in a public address in 1957:

> Our great opportunity, it seems to me, can be this: in a complex and dangerous time we can be active members in the great company of the defenders of liberty. It will require much of us; but to us much has been given. We can with confidence believe in the proposition--and act upon it--that free activities of individuals and businesses operating in a competitive environment will lead to the best and steadiest advance in our standard of living . . . But a high living standard is only one--and by no means the most important--of the criteria by which our society is to be judged. We who are advocates of freedom must recognize the other criteria--the state of our morality, charity, culture, health, learning, and the law. We must be alive to the impulses of our time and imaginative in meeting the needs generated by these impulses in ways that do not sacrifice our traditional values of personal liberty and initiative. (Eisenhower, 1957, paras. 46–47)

Unlike Truman's defense of superiority embedded in historical narrative, Eisenhower relies on the present and future capability American society to continue to succeed economically, morally, and socially. To accomplish this inclusion of individual members of society, Eisenhower uses inclusive pronouns to solicit participation and alert the audience of the responsibility of being a superior nation-state. Additionally, he alludes to traditional values without stating what those values are as in this inclusive statement it is assumed that members of the nation-state understand the characteristics and values that they should express, a means of projecting a homo nationalis (Wodak et al., 2009). Included in these values are the attributes that contribute to a society that is healthy, peaceful, and educated.

President Kennedy similarly calls upon the nation-state to maintain its superior status over the Communist enemy through the strength of man and the power of the mind as a means to defeat the enemy. In 1963 President Kennedy stated, "the twisting course

of the cold war requires a citizenry that understands our principles and problems. It requires skilled manpower and brainpower to match the power of totalitarian discipline. It requires a scientific effort which demonstrates the superiority of freedom" (Kennedy, 1963a, para. 6). As in the example selected from President Eisenhower, President Kennedy includes individual members and their capacity to know and understand the dominant values of American society, including both the understanding that the educated mind is a weapon equal to physical force in creating a superior nation-state.

Continuing the effort to include individual members as responsible for maintaining American supremacy, President Johnson argued in 1967:

> As a people, we have wanted many things, achieved many things. We have become the richest, the mightiest, the most productive nation in the world. Yet a nation may accumulate dollars, grow in power, pile stone on stone--and still fall short of greatness. The measure of a people is not how much they achieve--but what they achieve. Which of our pursuits is most worthy of our devotion? If we were required to choose, I believe we would place one item at the top of the list: fulfillment of the individual. If that is what we seek, mere wealth and power cannot help us. We must also act-in definable and practical ways--to liberate each individual from conditions which stunt his growth, assault his dignity, diminish his spirit. Those enemies we know: ignorance, illness, want, squalor, tyranny, injustice. (Johnson, 1967, paras. 158–161)

Here, Johnson argues that individuals must look beyond material wealth as other nations have accumulated great material wealth; instead, he encourages members of American society to consider their individual wealth outside of materials as Americans are generally better-educated, healthier, free from want and injustice, and futile existence than members of Communist nation-states. While Johnson calls for individuals to recognize their importance in the effort to maintain superiority, he also defines the role of

the government in supporting the superiority of the American nation and people when he stated in 1968 that:

> Through its international programs, the United States seeks to promote a peaceful world community in which all nations can devote their energies toward improving the lives of their citizens. We share with all governments, particularly those of the developed nations, responsibility for making progress toward these goals. The task is long, hard, and often frustrating. But we must not shrink from the work of peace. We must continue because we are a Nation founded on the ideals of humanitarian justice and liberty for all men. We must continue because we do not wish our children to inherit a world in which two-thirds of the people are underfed, diseased, and poorly educated. (Johnson, 1968a, paras. 126–127)

Johnson personifies the nation-state as an actor in the betterment of society broadly and the inclusion of the individuals of the superior society to seriously consider their role in the betterment of all of humanity, aggrandizing the individual's role to complete the tasks set forth by the presidential administration.

Shortly after the 1973 State of the Union Address, President Nixon called upon the people to remember why the American nation and the American people are superior. He stated in a radio address to the nation in 1973:

> At the beginning of each new year, as we reflect on the state of our American Union, we seek again a definition of what America means. Carl Sandburg came close to capturing its real meaning in three simple words that became the title for one of his greatest poems: "The People, Yes." America has risen to greatness because again and again when the chips were down, the American people have said yes--yes to the challenge of freedom, yes to the dare of progress, and yes to the hope of peace---even when defending the peace has meant paying the price of war. America's greatness will endure in the future only if our institutions continually rededicate themselves to saying yes to the people--yes to human needs and aspirations, yes to democracy and the consent of the governed, yes to equal opportunity and unlimited horizons of achievement for every American. (Nixon, 1973, paras. 1–3)

In this statement, President Nixon recognizes the role of social institutions in supporting the superior status of the nation and its people collectively. Without the inclusion of the role of institutions in maintaining American supremacy, he could certainly not claim in 1974 that:

> America is a great and good land, and we are a great and good land because we are a strong, free, creative people and because America is the single greatest force for peace anywhere in the world. Today, as always in our history, we can base our confidence in what the American people will achieve in the future on the record of what the American people have achieved in the past. (Nixon, 1974, paras. 1–2)

Nixon's claims to superiority are embedded in a common past, present, and future, are inclusive of people and personified institutions, and presents an understood set of values that the homo nationalis collectively agree to and exhibit in the eyes of the world. These mechanisms allow the president to share responsibility for the nation's status with various scales; in other words, the federal government, the social institutions in the state, and the individual members of the state are all held accountable to the same standards and hold the same responsibilities in securing America's superior status among nations.

In this text, President Ford affirms previous claims of superiority based on historical reference while he also uses the opportunity to legitimate future actions based on past success; he explains to the public:

> We are a great Nation--spiritually, politically, militarily, diplomatically, and economically. America's commitment to international security has sustained the safety of allies and friends in many areas--in the Middle East, in Europe, and in Asia. Our turning away would unleash new instabilities, new dangers around the globe, which, in turn, would threaten our own security. At the end of World War II, we turned a similar challenge into an historic opportunity and, I might add, an

> historic achievement. An old order was in disarray; political and economic institutions were shattered. In that period, this Nation and its partners built new institutions, new mechanisms of mutual support and cooperation. Today, as then, we face an historic opportunity. If we act imaginatively and boldly, as we acted then, this period will in retrospect be seen as one of the great creative moments of our Nation's history. The whole world is watching to see how we respond. (Ford, 1975b, paras. 69–70)

In this selection, not only is Ford stating what attributes the personified nation-state exhibits to legitimate its superiority, but he also references the importance of ideas and ingenuity of the human mind in facilitating achievements that have led, and will lead, the nation to greatness. In this excerpt, President Ford reinforces the inclusion of the individual in the nation's success in history as well as the expectations for the future. He stated in 1976:

> We have a lot to be thankful for and a lot to celebrate in this Bicentennial Year. In a relatively brief history, we have grown from a weak, struggling nation on the edge of a continent into the richest and most powerful country in the history of mankind. We have gone through wars, scandals, riots, assassinations; we have passed through crisis after crisis both at home and abroad and emerged in each instance stronger and stronger as a country. And I think that tells us something about the people in this country. After each crisis we have closed ranks, joined together, and gotten on with the job. As a result, we have enjoyed unparalleled economic, technological, social progress in America, and through it all we have had greater freedoms and greater liberties than any other people in the history of mankind. (Ford, 1976b, paras. 8–9)

Note that here superiority hinges on economic prowess, a status that only the United States has achieved according to this statement. Additionally, this is economic status is above the individual, but experienced by the individual as they are members of the collective and cannot be separated from the institutions of the nation.

President Carter's definition of America's powerful position as world leader is based on more than military strength as well. In his Inaugural Address in 1977 Carter defines America's strength in this assertion: "We are a strong nation, and we will maintain strength so sufficient that it need not be proven in combat--a quiet strength based not merely on the size of an arsenal but on the nobility of ideas" (Carter, 1977, para. 18). President Carter acknowledges that the ability to prove strength without simply exerting military power is difficult, and the way to prove that the nation's ideas and values are superior is to support the institutions that make the United States. He argued this point when he stated that "[o]ur Nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home. And we know that the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation" (Carter, 1977, para. 14). The personified nation-state is expected to demonstrate its power in the ideas of the people and the function of its social institutions. Carter also employs the use of inclusive pronouns to express the members of society's ownership in the nation's strength and well-being.

Similar to Carter's efforts to define American superiority in non-militaristic terms, President Reagan addressed the same issue in his Inaugural Address. Reagan stated in 1981:

> Above all, we must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors. (Reagan, 1981, para. 26)

In his 1983 State of the Union Address, Reagan reaffirmed this vision of power through ideas and values:

> But let us turn briefly to the international arena. America's leadership in the world came to us because of our own strength and because of the values which guide us as a society: free elections, a free press, freedom of religious choice, free trade unions, and above all, freedom for the individual and rejection of the arbitrary power of the state. These values are the bedrock of our strength. They unite us in a stewardship of peace and freedom with our allies and friends in NATO, in Asia, in Latin America, and elsewhere. They are also the values which in the recent past some among us had begun to doubt and view with a cynical eye. Fortunately, we and our allies have rediscovered the strength of our common democratic values, and we're applying them as a cornerstone of a comprehensive strategy for peace with freedom. In London last year, I announced the commitment of the United States to developing the infrastructure of democracy throughout the world. We intend to pursue this democratic initiative vigorously. The future belongs not to governments and ideologies which oppress their peoples, but to democratic systems of self-government which encourage individual initiative and guarantee personal freedom. (Reagan, 1983c, paras. 53–54)

In these two examples from Reagan's construction of the superiority of the American nation-state, he personifies the nation, uses paternal pronouns to show ownership of progress by the federal government, employs inclusive pronouns to share responsibility with the public, and compares unstated values which all Americans possess with those opposite but not explicitly stated lesser values of enemy nation-states.

After the fall of the US's nemesis, the Communist Bloc and Soviet Russia in the early 1990s, President Bush capitalized on the United States' leadership in the endeavor to destroy what Reagan called the Evil Empire. Defining America as a superior nation-state in all aspects of a nation's existence was not difficult at this juncture; the past was

justified, the present victorious, and the future looked promising. He stated in 1992 in a public address to the nation:

> The American people have just completed the greatest mission in the lifetime of our country: the triumph of democratic capitalism over imperial communism. Today, this year, for the first time since December of 1941, the United States is not engaged in a war, hot or cold. Throughout history, at the close of prolonged and costly wars, victors have confronted the problem of securing a new basis for peace and prosperity. The American people recognize that we stand at such a watershed. We sense the epic changes at work in the world and in the economy, the uneasiness that stirs the democracies who served as our partners in the long struggle. We feel the uneasiness in our own homes, our own communities, and we see the difficulties of our neighbors and friends who have felt change most directly. We know that while we face an era of great opportunity, we face great risks as well if we fail to make the right choices, if we fail to engage this new world wisely. But America has always possessed unique powers, and foremost among them is the power of regeneration, to transform uncertainty into opportunity. Only in America do we have the people, the talents, the principles and ideals to fully embrace the world that opens before us. (G. H. W. Bush, 1992a, paras. 4–6)

President Bush intended for the public to feel included in the victory over Communism as a means to congratulate the nation and include the public in the projected prosperity this victory would bring. Also important to note are historical references for legitimation of America's use of their position of power to dominate what was considered the arch rival of the American nation and its social institutions.

With the conclusion of the Cold War, the enemy, or the 'other' that presidents compare the United States to in the micro-strategy of American Superiority will change based upon events that occur during their presidency. However, the Cold War environment, the fear, and the issues of security in the face of a formidable opponent will be a benchmark for how the post-Cold War presidents evaluate a threat to the American

identity in this micro-strategy. In some cases, this is a stated benchmark, but in others it is referenced as a past victory to establish a common political past. For example, President Clinton uses the post-Cold War status as a benchmark for superiority in the following statement:

> To prepare America for the 21st century, we must master the forces of change in the world and keep American leadership strong and sure for an uncharted time. Fifty years ago, a farsighted America led in creating the institutions that secured victory in the cold war and built a growing world economy. As a result, today more people than ever embrace our ideals and share our interests. Already we have dismantled many of the blocs and barriers that divided our parents' world. For the first time, more people live under democracy than dictatorship, including every nation in our own hemisphere but one, and its day too, will come. (Clinton, 1997a, para. 61)

In this statement, President Clinton establishes a common past, present, and future; he states the past victories and how the current initiatives and future objectives will be measured according to those past successes. He is also careful to include the public in the victory as well as the present and future objectives by using inclusive pronouns and personifying the nation-state.

President Bush began his presidency with the Communist Bloc being the last formidable force the United States had to face. Unfortunately, the US was forever changed on 11 September 2001. Resulting from this tragedy, the American identity as a superior nation-state in comparison to a known enemy was revived with great vigor. It was common knowledge who the US's greatest enemy was, and that enemy's values are juxtaposed against the United States' values throughout the named War on Terror that is still an active conflict to the present day.

When President Bush took the oath of office in January of 2001, no one could have predicted what would occur only months later. However, it was already clear to the administration from events prior to 2001 that enemies and their weapons had changed since the Cold War. President Bush acknowledged this difference in February of 2001 when he addressed Congress to share his administration's goals. He stated in 2001:

> Our Nation also needs a clear strategy to confront the threats of the 21st century, threats that are more widespread and less certain. They range from terrorists who threaten with bombs to tyrants in rogue nations intent upon developing weapons of mass destruction. To protect our own people, our allies, and friends, we must develop and we must deploy effective missile defenses. And as we transform our military, we can discard cold war relics and reduce our own nuclear forces to reflect today's needs. A strong America is the world's best hope for peace and freedom. Yet the cause of freedom rests on more than our ability to defend ourselves and our allies. Freedom is exported every day, as we ship goods and products that improve the lives of millions of people. Free trade brings greater political and personal freedom. Each of the previous five Presidents has had the ability to negotiate far-reaching trade agreements. Tonight I ask you to give me the strong hand of Presidential trade promotion authority and to do so quickly. (G. W. Bush, 2001, paras. 55–56)

In this address to Congress, the personified nation-state intends to show strength not only through military or weapons, but through economic prowess. President Bush validates this effort through establishing a commonality among the past presidential administrations and the benchmark that the Cold War is over and new enemies have emerged calling for a new form of expression of strength. Important to note in this excerpt that the paternal 'we' is employed to reinforce the government's role in protecting the people and the personified nation-state from the enemy 'other.'

By September of 2001, there was no question as to what enemy the US was being compared. The enemy was stated and known, and considering the impact of the events of

11 September 2001, President Bush openly declared the superiority of the nation-state without qualification, something that was not common for previous administrations. In other words, during President Bush's first term, in the wake of the events of 2001, he did not justify the retaliatory actions of the US in the immediate term based upon a common political past; instead, the focus was on the construction of an identity that was opposite of the new enemy, was embedded in the spirit of the American public summoned in response to crisis, the archetype of the homo nationalis (Wodak et al., 2009). For example, President Bush states in a public meeting on January 5, 2002:

> We're taking action. We're taking action against evil people, because this great Nation of many religions understands, our war is not against Islam or against faith practiced by the Muslim people; our war is a war against evil. This is clearly a case of good versus evil, and make no mistake about it, good will prevail. The American people are patient, very patient, and for that, I'm grateful. I appreciate so very much the fact that the Americans from all walks of life have stepped back and have figured out that this is going to require a lot of effort and energy to succeed in our war against terror. And I want to thank you for your patience. We're now in a dangerous phase of the first front in the war against terror. Because of the terrain in Afghanistan and because there's still hostile elements, we're pursuing our objective cave by cave. You see, the people that tend to send young, innocent boys to their death in the name of Allah want to save their own skins by hiding in caves. And I've told the world, just like I've told our military, we will do whatever it takes to bring them to justice. They think they can run, and they think they can hide, because they think this country is soft and impatient. But they are going to continue to learn the terrible lesson that says, don't mess with America. (G. W. Bush, 2002b, paras. 21–22)

In this statement, President Bush compares the assumptions by the enemy of the US to the values of the personified nation-state. While the impetus of the stated values are referencing the nation-state, pronouns suggest that these values are reflected by each individual of both the US and the enemy, placing both responsibility and blame on the

members of each society. In his 2003 State of the Union Address President Bush reminds the American public what the homo nationalis stands for by referencing the values espoused by the Founding Fathers and referencing a common cultural image, the flag, that elicits images of patriotism that are synonymous with the American homo nationalis. Bush stated in 2003:

> The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted and defend the peace and confound the designs of evil men. (G. W. Bush, 2003b, para. 33)

In this statement not only does President Bush remind the American public of the characteristics they are expected to possess as members of society, but he also establishes the superiority of the nation-state as a global position, not just a comparison to the enemy. As the nation stood as the arguably the undisputed leader after the Cold War, President Bush purports that the American mission in the War on Terror is a moral endeavor that places the US in a position of superiority over all other nation-states across the globe.

The Obama administration inherited the war that began during President Bush's first term in office; thus, in Obama's early speeches this foe is addressed and the superiority of America and its people are similarly defined. In his 2009 Inaugural Address, President Obama reinforces this identity of superiority when he states:

> Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They

> understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use. Our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint. We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken. You cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you. (Obama, 2009b, paras. 17–18)

While Obama does state a different agenda for the war than that of the Bush administration in this statement, he does replicate the character values of the American public as well as the personified nation-state. He also pulls legitimation for the belief that the war will end with the US victorious from the common past victories.

The Obama administration, as it began its agenda to end the war in Afghanistan and Iraq, focused on how the US would maintain superiority in a changed world, outside of its military strength. The focus of American superiority was thus placed upon economic strength, and later, the role of education in supporting or growing that strength. On July 7, 2010, Obama focused on the superior economic status in the following statement:

> We live in a interconnected world. There are global challenges and global opportunities. This Nation has never shied away from the prospect of competition. We thrive on competition. And we are better positioned than anybody—as uniquely positioned as ever—to compete with anyone in the world. We've got the most respected brands, the best products, the most vibrant companies in the world. We've got the most productive workers in the world. We've got the finest universities in the world. We've got the most open, dynamic, and competitive market in the world. When the playing field is even,

> nobody can beat us. And we are upping our game for the playing field of the 21st century. (Obama, 2010b, para. 39)

Keeping in touch with the competitive spirit of America and its people, Obama considers the role of education as very important to supporting America's superior world status. In the following excerpts, Obama explains the necessity for focusing on education as a means to support America's superior economic status. In this 5 October 2010 statement, Obama has just announced the American Graduation Initiative. He states:

> As far as I'm concerned, America does not play for second place, and we certainly don't play for ninth. So I've set a goal: By 2020, America will once again lead the world in producing college graduates. And I believe community colleges will play a huge part in meeting this goal by producing an additional 5 million degrees and certificates in the next 10 years. That's why last year I launched the American Graduation Initiative. I promised that we would end wasteful subsidies to big banks for student loans, and instead use that money to make college more affordable and to make a historic investment in community colleges. And after a tough fight, we passed those reforms, and today we're using this money towards the interest of higher education in America. (Obama, 2010e, paras. 12–13)

To support this initiative and the importance of education in maintaining US economic superiority, Obama made the following statement days later on 14 October 2010:

> There are two steps in terms of education. And keep in mind that what has made America the wealthiest, most successful country on Earth historically has been our commitment to education. We started the public school system very early in the century, and as a consequence we had more skilled workers than any nation on Earth, which meant that we were more productive than any nation on Earth. We then made a commitment, particularly after World War II with the GI bill, to massively expand our commitment to college education, and that meant we had more engineers and we had more scientists and that meant we had better technology, which meant that we were more productive and we could succeed in the global marketplace. (Obama, 2010c, para. 35)

In December of 2010, Obama connects the importance of education in economic success to the character of the American people and the personified nation-state. President Obama stated on 6 December 2010:

> Now, I have no doubt we can win this competition. We are the home of the world's best universities, the best research facilities, the most brilliant scientists, the brightest minds, some of the hardest working, most entrepreneurial people on Earth, right here in America. It's in our DNA. Think about it. People came from all over the world to live here in the United States. That's been our history. And those were the go-getters, the risk takers who came here. The folks who didn't want to take risks, they stayed back home. Right? So there's no doubt that we are well equipped to win. (Obama, 2010d, para. 21)

In this statement, the president establishes a common past to legitimate current initiatives; he also uses inclusive pronouns to assure the individual members of society that they have a stake in the economic prosperity and are as responsible in securing that position as the administration.

Each of the presidential administrations studied had a benchmark or an opponent to compare the United States to as a collective. They juxtaposed values, morals, character, actions, results, and institutions of their administrations of the US to the enemy to provide examples of superiority. When the opponent of the US was not clear, generalized comparisons were made to continue to support the idea that the US maintained superior status to other nations based upon past events and future projections. Regardless of the US's relationship with other nations, involvement in conflicts or internal upheaval, the US is proclaimed as superior by its leaders, creating an identity of American Superiority.

After establishing that American superiority is at the basis of the collective identity as construed by presidential administrations, I had to consider how this fit into the research and more importantly, to my assertion that economic status is equated to freedom and that status is perpetuated by institutions of higher education. With the economic status of the nation, historically, present in the given period, and projected for the future by the different administrations, being the indicator of power, and stated publicly as a nation personified as representing a collective 'we' group, it trickles down to the individual members of the imagined community. Thus, the micro-strategy of Economy = Freedom emerges as the means by which presidents construe an identity for the members of the community to match the personified nation-state's identity.

Economy = Freedom

In this micro-strategy of justification and perpetuation, presidential discourse equates economic status, market capitalist structures more specifically, to freedom. What makes the nation-state great and guarantees people of the nation-state freedom is defined in economic terms. This strategy assumes that market capitalism is superior, that it complements the economic demands of the nation and its people, and the nation's identity is dependent upon market capitalism. To accomplish this strategy, presidents personify both the nation-state and the economic structures, appeal to the public through the use of inclusive deictic 'we,' and metonymy in which metaphors of economic accomplishments, goals, values, or status are equated to an individual's accomplishments, goals, values, and status. Whether the individual members wish to measure their worth by economic status is not considered; presidents discuss how an individual's economic

status reflects the power of the nation as a whole. For example, President Truman addresses the victorious position of American capitalism in the postwar era, when the Cold War was on the rise. In the 1949 annual message to the Congress on the State of the Union, Truman stated that "This progress has confounded the gloomy prophets--at home and abroad who predicted the downfall of American capitalism" (1949b, para. 13). One year later, Truman addresses the differences between communist and capitalist systems, how they impact not just the nation as a whole, its economic system, but how the systems trickle down and impact the individual members of society determining their well-being, economic and otherwise. He stated in the 1950 annual message to the Congress on the State of the Union:

> This program is in the interest of all peoples-and has nothing in common with either the old imperialism of the last century or the new imperialism of the Communists . . . In the world today we are confronted with the danger that the rising demand of people everywhere for freedom and a better life may be corrupted and betrayed by the false promises of communism. In its ruthless struggle for power, communism seizes upon our imperfections, and takes advantage of the delays and setbacks which the democratic nations experience in their effort to secure a better life for their citizens. This challenge to us is more than a military challenge. It is a challenge to the honesty of our profession of the democratic faith; it is a challenge to the efficiency and stability of our economic system; it is a challenge to the willingness to work with other peoples for world peace and for world prosperity . . . and preserve mankind from dictatorship and tyranny. (Truman, 1950b, paras. 31, 33–34)

In these selections, Truman personifies the nation-state, equates its status to that of the people, and uses metonymy to strengthen his argument that the economic status of the nation is the same as the freedom of individuals.

In the following excerpt, President Eisenhower discusses the relevance of the economy to protection of individual freedom:

> The American economy is one of the wonders of the world. It undergirds our international position, our military security, and the standard of living of every citizen. This Administration is determined to keep our economy strong and to keep it growing . . . Economic preparedness is fully as important to the nation as military preparedness. (Eisenhower, 1954b, paras. 46–47)

Whereas the previous quote is an example of how economic prowess ensures freedom for the whole, the individual still may question how this impacts them on a micro-level. In the following text, President Eisenhower (1955) clearly states how economic status impacts each individual member of the United States community:

> Our efforts to defend our freedom and to secure a just peace are, of course, inseparable from the second great purpose of our government: to help maintain a strong, growing economy--an economy vigorous and free, in which there are ever-increasing opportunities, just rewards for effort, and a stable prosperity that is widely shared. (para. 52)

This exemplary sample expresses Eisenhower's position that people are a part of economic prowess and it is the government of the nation that assures its people this status will continue.

The government's role in preserving the nation and individual's economic status continued into the Kennedy administration. In addition to preserving this position for the US, Kennedy expanded that duty to include assisting other non-Communist nations when he stated:

> Secondly, we must improve our economic tools. Our role is essential and unavoidable in the construction of a sound and expanding economy for the entire non-communist world, helping other nations build the strength to meet their own problems, to satisfy their own aspirations--to surmount their own dangers. The problems in achieving this goal are towering and unprecedented-the response must be towering and unprecedented as well, much as Lend-Lease and the Marshall Plan were in earlier years, which brought such fruitful results. (Kennedy, 1961a, para. 42)

The paternal 'we' represents the administration and its duty to consider not only the economic status of the US, but developing non-Communist nations as well. In this case all nations are personified and past legislative actions and programs are referenced to reinforce the legitimacy of this directive. While the president has asked that the nation assist others in economic development as a means to preserve freedom, he is also careful to remind the members of the nation that all efforts abroad are dependent upon the nation's domestic economic strength. Kennedy stated in the 1962 Budget Message to Congress: "the budget supports those activities that have great significance to the Nation's social and economic growth--the mainsprings of our national strength and leadership" (Kennedy, 1962a, para. 106). Also in 1962, Kennedy stated in a public address:

> My fellow Americans, this administration is pledged to safeguard our Nation's economy. It is a vital matter to all of us. Upon it depends our individual well-being and the well-being of all the countries that so greatly depend upon us. I believe that it is necessary for those of us who occupy positions of responsibility in the National Government, in the Congress, and in the States and all of us to work together to build an economy which can sustain all of the great responsibilities which have been placed upon it; where men can work, where businessmen can invest with hope in the future; where housewives can purchase with due regard to the security of their dollars. I have confidence in that kind of an America, and I think--working together--we can bring it about. (Kennedy, 1962d, para. 65)

In this statement, President Kennedy addresses not only how the government intends to protect the US economic system, but also the individual's role in supporting the same efforts. In 1963, Kennedy addresses the role of social institutions in economic prowess, assuring the people that he understands that the government and its institutions must also improve to support the individual's economic status. President Kennedy stated in 1963:

> For the nation, increasing the quality and availability of education is vital to both our national security and our domestic well being. A free Nation can rise no higher than the standard of excellence set in its schools and colleges. Ignorance and illiteracy, unskilled workers and school dropouts-these and other failures of our educational system breed failures in our social and economic system: delinquency, unemployment, chronic dependence, a waste of human resources, a loss of productive power and purchasing power and an increase in tax-supported benefits. The loss of only one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of twelve years of education through high school. Failure to improve educational performance is thus not only poor social policy, it is poor economics. (Kennedy, 1963a, para. 3)

Important to note is that the quality of education is equated to economic status, an important factor in the next micro-strategy discussed. Kennedy equates productivity to education level, educational excellence to economic status, and explains that lack of attention to education and its effectiveness has a direct impact on the economic status of the nation-state as a whole. After all, if the American public is not properly educated, the public cannot meet its full potential, as Kennedy noted in a special report to Congress in 1963:

> We in America have come far toward the achievement of a free economy that realizes the full potential of each individual member of its work force. The ideal of full employment, in the large sense that each individual shall become all that he is capable of becoming, and shall contribute fully to the well being of the Nation

> even as he fully shares in that well being, is at the heart of our democratic belief. (Kennedy, 1963b, paras. 1–2)

In contrast to the dual responsibility of the nation's government and the members of the nation-state in supporting economic growth and status, President Johnson implies that it is the responsibility of the individual people to maintain their economic status so that the nation may continue to occupy its superior status. President Johnson (1966) states:

> I see a future where the first two decades of people's lives are spent growing up, physically and mentally fit--training for citizenship and effective participation in their country's affairs--attaining the education for service, for a craft, for a profession--getting ready for their roles as workers, consumers, producers, and contributors to a free society. ("Our Opportunity for the Future," para. 9)

In the following text, President Johnson equates national economic status, individual economic status and education's responsibility to make sure that these important indicators of status are maintained. President Johnson states in a special message to Congress:

> The prosperity and well-being of the United States--and thus our national interest-are vitally affected by America's colleges and universities, junior colleges and technical institutes. Their problems are not theirs alone, but the Nation's. This is true today more than ever. For now we call upon higher education to play a new and more ambitious role in our social progress, our economic development, our efforts to help other countries. We depend upon the universities--their training, research and extension services-for the knowledge which undergirds agricultural and industrial production. Increasingly, we look to higher education to provide the key to better employment opportunities and a more rewarding life for our citizens. As never before, we look to the colleges and universities--to their faculties, laboratories, research institutes and study centers-for help with every problem in our society and with the efforts we are making toward peace in the world. (Johnson, 1968b, paras. 49–54)

President Johnson clearly states the impact of post-secondary education on both the nation's and the individual's economic status. Thus, the institutions of higher education are given the duty of securing economic success through teaching, research, knowledge production, and contributions to the private and public sectors respectively.

Supporting the premise that the relationship between education and the economy in the economic success of the US is a vital connection, President Nixon argues:

> No element of our national life is more worthy of our attention, our support and our concern than higher education. For no element has greater impact on the careers, the personal growth and the happiness of so many of our citizens. And no element is of greater importance in providing the knowledge and leadership on which the vitality of our democracy and the strength of our economy depends. (Nixon, 1970b, para. 15)

In this statement, President Nixon clearly supports the argument that educational attainment and economic success are connected, and the personified nation-state and economic system are dependent upon this relationship and its success.

President Ford continued this construction of the economic basis of freedom, tied to education, and further connected this premise to the individual. Through the course of one speech in 1975, that is representative of a variety of speeches delivered by President Ford, he addresses the role of government and the nation-state more broadly in the formation of social institutions that perpetuated market capitalism and its prowess, the benefits the individual experiences as a result, and the role education would play in the individual reaping the benefits of the economic system synonymous with the US. President Ford first draws from the common political past to legitimate present decisions and allude to future outcomes, he uses inclusive pronouns to assure the public they are all

included in the benefits, and he personifies the nation-state and the economic system. He stated in a public address on 13 September 1975:

> I would like to share with you today something of my own vision for the future. I would build upon our proud past. In America's first century we developed political institutions responsive to the people. A great nation was painfully consolidated with unity growing from diversity. Our second century transformed an underdeveloped country into the most productive nation that ever existed. America reflected the pioneer spirit, the achievements of industry, agriculture, the incentives of free enterprise, the contributions of free trade unions, and the widespread sharing of economic gains both at home and abroad. As we approach our third century, I see this era as one of the fulfillment of the individual citizen. . . . Two centuries of sacrifices and struggle, of conflict and compromise, have won an unprecedented measure of political and economic independence for each of us. . . . I am proud of our free economic system which corrects its own errors, controlled by the marketplace of free and enlightened consumers. . . . I am especially proud of the role of free education in preserving individuality. Education is vital to my vision of our third century. Only education can equip individuals to take responsibility for their own lives in the face of pressures of mass systems of society. Education must provide the perception upon which rests the quality of individuality. (Ford, 1975a, paras. 11–14, 21–23)

In a similar fashion, President Carter (1978) offers this assertion:

> We can be justly proud of the accomplishments of our system of education. Education has promoted understanding among a diverse people; it has been the springboard to advancement for generations of our citizens; and it has produced the skills and knowledge required for this country to have the most advanced economy in the world. (para. 3)

In this text, President Carter promotes the economic importance of education in the US and the global reach of that success. In this case, what is completed or reached in the American nation-state has a profound impact on the world, expanding the spatial reach of the US's economic success.

President Reagan also considered the position of the economy on a global, national, and personal scale. In the 1983 State of the Union Address, President Reagan told the Congress and the American public:

> But our strategy for peace with freedom must also be based on strength—economic strength and military strength. A strong American economy is essential to the well-being and security of our friends and allies. The restoration of a strong, healthy American economy has been and remains one of the central pillars of our foreign policy. The progress I've been able to report to you tonight will, I know, be as warmly welcomed by the rest of the world as it is by the American people. We must also recognize that our own economic well-being is inextricably linked to the world economy. We export over 20 percent of our industrial production, and 40 percent of our farmland produces for export. We will continue to work closely with the industrialized democracies of Europe and Japan and with the International Monetary Fund to ensure it has adequate resources to help bring the world economy back to strong, noninflationary growth. As the leader of the West and as a country that has become great and rich because of economic freedom, America must be an unrelenting advocate of free trade. As some nations are tempted to turn to protectionism, our strategy cannot be to follow them, but to lead the way toward freer trade . . . (Reagan, 1983c, paras. 55–57)

In this speech, Reagan personifies the nation-state and uses the person for country deictic 'we' to promote a sense of belonging to the public while instructing the governmental representatives in regards to their duty as representative of the state; these duties expand the national borders to include similar nations across the globe. Whereas this selection is an example of the duties above the individual American, later, on December 8, 1983, Reagan relates the role of the nation-state to the individual when he offers:

> If America is to offer greater economic opportunity to her citizens, if she's to defend our freedom, democracy, and keep the peace, then our children will need wisdom, courage, and strength—virtues beyond their reach without education. In the words of Thomas Jefferson: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free . . . it expects what never was and never will be." (Reagan, 1983a, para. 10)

In this text, President Reagan justifies the connection of the importance of education to a successful nation-state by quoting a founding father and former president. This selection also personifies the nation-state and uses inclusive pronouns to assure the audience that the general public is included in these economic and educational efforts and goals.

President Bush followed his predecessor's lead in establishing a connection between the global economy, national economy, individual economic status, and education. In President Bush's 1990 State of the Union Address, he equates the individual to capital, personifies the nation-state, uses metaphors to reinforce personification, discusses a common present and future, references a global scale, and includes members of society in the plans that he is promoting for economic success by using inclusive pronouns, as well as the paternal 'we' to differentiate between the public and the state. G. H. W. Bush (1990) states:

> In the tough competitive markets around the world, America faces the great challenges and great opportunities. And we know that we can succeed in the global economic arena of the nineties, but to meet that challenge, we must make some fundamental changes -- some crucial investment in ourselves. Yes, we are going to invest in America. This administration is determined to encourage the creation of capital, capital of all kinds: physical capital -- everything from our farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, all that is needed to produce and deliver quality goods and quality services; intellectual capital -- the source of ideas that spark tomorrow's products; and of course our human capital -- the talented work force that we'll need to compete in the global market. (paras. 15–16)

Following this statement, President Bush reminds the public that in order for this goal to be met, for the economy to provide the nation with a superior economic status, "Every

American adult must be a skilled, literate worker and citizen" (G. H. W. Bush, 1990, para. 27), encouraging an educated citizenry.

President Clinton was also forthright in his assertion that the economic status and well-being of the nation was a path to freedom and superiority and the best way to ensure this success was through education. Clinton stated in a public address on 26 February 1993:

> We are in a constant race toward innovation that will not end in the lifetime of anyone in this room. What all this means is that the best investment we can make today is in the one resource firmly rooted in our own borders. That is, in the education, the skills, the reasoning capacity and the creativity of our own people. For all the adventure and opportunity in this global economy, an American cannot approach it without mixed feelings. We still sometimes wish wistfully that everything we really want, particularly those things that produce good wages, could be made in America. We recall simpler times when one product line would be made to endure and last for years. We're angry when we see jobs and factories moving overseas or across the borders or depressing wages here at home when we think there is nothing we can do about it. We worry about our own prosperity being so dependent on events and forces beyond our shores. Could it be that the world's most powerful nation has also given up a significant measure of its sovereignty in the quest to lift the fortunes of people throughout the world? It is ironic and even painful that the global village we have worked so hard to create has done so much to be the source of higher unemployment and lower wages for some of our people. But that is no wonder. For years our leaders have failed to take the steps that would harness the global economy to the benefit of all of our people. Steps such as investing in our people and their skills, enforcing our trade laws, helping communities hurt by change -- in short, putting the American people first without withdrawing from the world and people beyond our borders. The truth of our age is this -- and must be this: Open and competitive commerce will enrich us as a nation. It spurs us to innovate. It forces us to compete. It connects us with new customers. It promotes global growth without which no rich country can hope to grow wealthier. It enables our producers who are themselves consumers of services and raw materials to prosper. And so I say to you in the face of all the pressures to do the reverse, we must compete, not retreat. . . . American jobs and prosperity are reason enough for us to be working at mastering the essentials of the global economy. But far more is at stake. For this new fabric of commerce will also shape global prosperity or the lack of it, and

> with it, the prospects of people around the world for democracy, freedom and peace. (Clinton, 1993b, paras. 30–34, 36)

In this speech, Clinton is careful to include the public in the efforts of the personified nation-state, uses metaphors to grapple with the intangible concept of globalism, and establishes a common present and future related to the superiority of the nation's public through equating freedom to economic status. In the following selection from the same speech, Clinton (1993b) references historical figures and uses metaphors to describe economic relations as if they are individuals' relationships. He offers:

> But as philosophers from Thucydides to Adam Smith have noted, the habits of commerce run counter to the habits of war. Just as neighbors who raise each other's barns are less likely to become arsonists, people who raise each other's living standards through commerce are less likely to become combatants. So if we believe in the bonds of democracy, we must resolve to strengthen the bonds of commerce. (para. 43)

In the 1995 State of the Union Address, President Clinton discusses the role of the federal government in assuring that both the nation and the individual members of society are successful and free in the new economy. In this selection, full responsibility is not placed on the individual, but the groundwork is established for individuals to take responsibility for ensuring economic success and in turn freedom of the public. He also establishes a common past to legitimate the present action and future goals of his administration. Clinton (1995a) argues:

> The most important job of our Government in this new era is to empower the American people to succeed in the global economy. America has always been a land of opportunity, a land where, if you work hard, you can get ahead. We've become a great middle class country. Middle class values sustain us. We must

> expand that middle class and shrink the underclass, even as we do everything we can to support the millions of Americans who are already successful in the new economy. . . . We've got to have a Government that can be a real partner in making this new economy work for all of our people, a Government that helps each and every one of us to get an education and to have the opportunity to renew our skills. That's why we worked so hard to increase educational opportunities in the last 2 years, from Head Start to public schools, to apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college, to making college loans more available and more affordable. That's the first thing we have to do. We've got to do something to empower people to improve their skills. (paras. 52, 55)

In contrast to the previous text in which Clinton recognizes the role of the federal government in empowering people to succeed in the new economy, the following text from a public address on 26 January 1995 places the responsibility for the nation's economic status directly on the public. He states the federal action, but closes with the bottom line—the American public is responsible for maintaining a superior economic status to protect their rights and liberties in the US. Clinton (1995e) addressed the public with the following:

> The job of every American at the close of the 20th century is to do what we can to guarantee that, as we move to the next century, the American dream will be available to all of our people, and that our country will remain the world's strongest force for freedom and democracy. That means, to use my formulation, that we have to make some profound changes in our country which will require a New Covenant of commitment to opportunity and to responsibility, a commitment to the strength of our communities and the work of citizenship. We have to empower our people to make the most of their own abilities. We have to expand opportunity without expanding bureaucracy in the information age, and we have to enhance our security at home as well as abroad. The work of education does all that and helps us to strengthen our communities at the grassroots level. And as I said the other night, the middle class bill of rights I've proposed should be called the bill of rights and responsibilities, because as all of you know well, you can't give somebody an education, you can only give them the opportunity for an education. It's something that people have to seize for themselves. (paras. 2–3)

President Bush follows Clinton's lead in placing responsibility for a strong economic status on the individual. He is direct in placing responsibility, but uses inclusive pronouns when referencing the personified economy. The deictic 'we' is paternal; the administration, those higher than the workers, want the workers to succeed so that the nation succeeds, and in this case, the workers need to change in order for the status to remain dominant. President Bush suggested in this 2004 public address:

> When people decide to become a better worker, they're helping our economy. As more workers become retrained for the jobs of the 21st century, it will help us stay on the leading edge of technological change in the world. As our workforce gets retrained—listen, we've got great workers; they just need the skills necessary to be able to compete. And as this labor force becomes more educated and more skilled for the jobs of the 21st century, we'll stay the leading country in the world. And that's what we want. We want to be the leader in the world, because when you're in the leader of the world, the standard of living for your people rises. We want the American Dream to shine brightly. (G. W. Bush, 2004, para. 80)

It is interesting to note that Bush uses the metaphor of the American Dream to describe what the workers will attain for themselves and the nation, yet the workers are the only ones given responsibility for attaining the economic goals for the nation and its people to keep the Dream, that of freedom and prosperity, alive.

President Obama leaves no room for question as to how important the economic status of the nation is to the public as he directly equates the economy to freedom in his first Inaugural Address. He stated before the nation:

> Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The Nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic

> product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart, not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (Obama, 2009b, para. 15)

President Obama gives the nation causal power, personifies the nation, includes the public in the actions, understanding, and future of the market. A month later in the 2009 State of the Union Address President Obama addresses the public from a position of authority, but also uses the inclusive deictic 'we' to assure the people that he and his administration understand the challenges to the economy and thus their way of life; a way of life that is unique to the American public and understood only by them and their forbearers. Furthermore, he establishes a common past, present, and future to legitimate the reach of the concern. Obama states:

> I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others, and rightly so. If you haven't been personally affected by this recession, you probably know someone who has: a friend, a neighbor, a member of your family. You don't need to hear another list of statistics to know that our economy is in crisis, because you live it every day. It's the worry you wake up with and the source of sleepless nights. It's the job you thought you'd retire from but now have lost, the business you built your dreams upon that's now hanging by a thread, the college acceptance letter your child had to put back in the envelope. The impact of this recession is real, and it is everywhere. But while our economy may be weakened and our confidence shaken, though we are living through difficult and uncertain times, tonight I want every American to know this: We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before. The weight of this crisis will not determine the destiny of this Nation. The answers to our problems don't lie beyond our reach. They exist in our laboratories and our universities, in our fields and our factories, in the imaginations of our entrepreneurs and the pride of the hardest working people on Earth. Those qualities that have made America the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history, we still possess in ample measure. What is required now is for this country to pull together, confront boldly the challenges we face, and take responsibility for our future once more. (Obama, 2009a, paras. 2–4)

Later in the same speech, Obama offers the plan of the administration to restore the economy and thus the people's freedom and prosperity:

> The recovery plan and the financial stability plan are the immediate steps we're taking to revive our economy in the short term. But the only way to fully restore America's economic strength is to make the long-term investments that will lead to new jobs, new industries, and a renewed ability to compete with the rest of the world. The only way this century will be another American century is if we confront at last the price of our dependence on oil and the high cost of health care, the schools that aren't preparing our children and the mountain of debt they stand to inherit. That is our responsibility. . . . For history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas. In the midst of Civil War, we laid railroad tracks from one coast to another that spurred commerce and industry. From the turmoil of the Industrial Revolution came a system of public high schools that prepared our citizens for a new age. In the wake of war and depression, the GI bill sent a generation to college and created the largest middle class in history. And a twilight struggle for freedom led to a nation of highways, an American on the Moon, and an explosion of technology that still shapes our world. In each case, Government didn't supplant private enterprise; it catalyzed private enterprise. It created the conditions for thousands of entrepreneurs and new businesses to adapt and to thrive. We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril and claimed opportunity from ordeal. Now we must be that nation again, and that is why, even as it cuts back on programs we don't need, the budget I submit will invest in the three areas that are absolutely critical to our economic future: energy, health care, and education. (Obama, 2009a, paras. 28, 31–32)

Obama references the past victories of the US to legitimate present action and future plans. He includes the administration and the public through the deictic 'we' of inclusion and person for country to maintain a shared responsibility among the various scales within the personified nation-state.

The previous text selections from each president considered in this study exemplify the micro-strategy of Economy = Freedom as a means to define the American nation. Almost always present in this micro-strategy is some reference to education, at

various levels, all pointing to the economic ends of an educated public. Therefore, the next step is to ascertain how presidents, across the 67 years studied, define the purpose of education in supporting, re-creating, or reproducing the nation's imagined identity. In other words, how do presidents construe the purpose of education in maintaining a superior nation in economic terms?

Purpose of Education

Presidents often define the role of education, and higher education specifically, as it relates to the dominant national identity in their administration's time. Consequently, the purpose of education is defined in terms relevant to other micro-strategies, making this the most comprehensive or cross-strategy micro-strategy (it is a micro-strategy that both perpetuates and justifies as well as transforms), adding to not only the relevance to the current research, but the complex relationship between institutions of education and the nation-state. Thus, presidents state the role of education in maintaining an identity of the nation that perpetuates its status among nations. This micro-strategy could be further divided into subsets based upon education in general, higher education specifically, and the economic purpose of education broadly or higher education specifically. For the purpose of this study, I use the more generalized title of purpose of education as a comprehensive micro-strategy but focus on the specific references presidents make to higher education. Presidential narratives plainly define and state the purpose of education in many of their public addresses; which purpose prevails in each administration is directly linked to the dominant discursive national identity in the respective time.

Higher education as an important and unique attribute to America was a foremost concern of the Truman administration at the end of the Second World War. With the ratification of the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill), the influx of veteran-students, and the changing demands of a newly-becoming integrated world community, educating citizens to be members of a changing world was a primary objective for President Truman's administration. This dedication to higher education was evident in the creation of the President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy in 1946. As Truman addressed the nation on 15 December 1947,

> Higher education in our Nation is confronted today with tremendous responsibilities [but is] burdened by great overcrowding and a shortage of teachers. Most importantly, however, we are challenged by the need to insure that higher education shall take its proper place in our national effort to strengthen democracy at home and to improve our understanding of our friends and neighbors everywhere in the world. (Truman, 1947, para. 2)

Truman was aware of the potential role that higher education could play in assisting the people to understand their new world after the world's greatest catastrophe; it would also help strengthen the victor by educating its population. He stated: "A carefully developed program to strengthen higher education . . . will inevitably strengthen our Nation and enrich the lives of our citizens" (Truman, 1947, para. 3). While Truman personifies the nation and the institution of higher education giving both institutions causal powers, he does not clearly connect the benefits of these entities to the economic strength of the nation or the economic benefit of the people or the economic ties to a free society, until 1949. In his Budget Message to Congress on 10 January 1949, President Truman urged

Congress to extend access to higher education through benefits outside of those eligible for the GI Bill as it would serve the nation as a whole. He informed Congress that

> [i]t has become increasingly obvious that the national welfare demands that higher education be made available to more of our talented young people. We should now determine the soundest and most practicable means of providing additional opportunities for capable young people who could not otherwise afford a college or university education. (Truman, 1949a, para. 206)

By facilitating access to higher education, Truman argues that talent should be rewarded with extended education and that education could in turn serve the nation, making it stronger.

President Eisenhower follows his predecessor's lead in supporting higher education as a means of promoting a dominant nation-state in a world torn by war. In the selection below, Eisenhower refers to the common past the American nation and its members have in their memory to justify the current initiatives and future goals of the administration. He quotes a founding father known for his support of higher education and he uses the founding story to justify the connection between education and freedom. Eisenhower also uses inclusive pronouns to urge the public to support and be involved in the initiative to gain higher education as a means of strengthening the nation-state. He urges the public:

> This heritage is our most precious possession. What we do individually to conserve it, to strengthen it, to enrich it, is the only true measure of our devotion to it. More than this, it is the only true measure of the claims we can possibly have on posterity's memory. The wealth we may accumulate, the public prestige we may enjoy, the social position we may obtain, are all meaningless in the long vista of time, unless all are made to serve the cause of human dignity and freedom. What value dollars, or acclaim, or position in a world where justice and

> opportunity and freedom are lost to us by force, by subversion, or by our own neglect? . . . A chief bulwark of our heritage against any such decay of the law has been and is and will be the American school system-from the one-room red brick building at a country crossroads to the largest of our universities . . . In the days of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend these words: 'No surer foundation,' he said of education, 'can be devised for the preservation of liberty and happiness.' Then, with the fervor of a lifetime devoted to the increase of liberty and happiness among men, he added, 'Preach a crusade against ignorance.' . . . The results are written across the history of our country. By every step taken to banish ignorance, we have increased our hold on liberty. By every measure taken to enlarge our comprehension of the world in which we live, we have amplified the possibilities for human happiness. We possess in our land a largeness of justice and freedom beyond our forefathers' dreams, because the education of our youth has been a primary goal of this Nation. (Eisenhower, 1953, paras. 13–15, 17)

While Eisenhower summons the spirit of the nation's founding, he also places the responsibility of seeking and taking advantage of the education that is offered upon the individual members of society. In 1954, Eisenhower included this notion in his Budget Message:

> The citizen in a democracy has the opportunity and the obligation to participate constructively in the affairs of his community and his Nation. To the extent that the educational system provides our citizens with the opportunity for study and learning, the wiser will their decisions be, and the more they can contribute to our way of life. (Eisenhower, 1954a, para. 336)

He repeated this message in the 1956 State of the Union Address: "To fulfill the individual's aspirations in the American way of life, good education is fundamental" (para. 91). Not only does Eisenhower state the duty of individual members of society, he references the way of life assumed to be the norm of all members of American society; a notion to be understood by the homo nationalis and connected to the dominant national identity that is assumed to be clear to the members of the general American public.

In 1957, Eisenhower connects the way of life, the value of education, and the market through this statement:

> The American corporation is showing increasingly that it is a good citizen. Industry is accepting the support of higher learning as the normal responsibility of a successful business, because it senses a fundamental truth, too long veiled: that, by contributions to the strengthening of our educational resources, each giving corporation makes a sound investment in its own as well as in our nation's future. (para. 15)

This excerpt considers what it means to be successful, what the nation and individual's well-being entails, and the role of education in meeting that success—preparing a workforce for a profitable economy.

President Kennedy (1962c) discusses the past and present role of education, and requests that it be better supported to meet the economic needs of the nation:

> Public education has been the great bulwark of equality of opportunity in our democracy for more than a century. Our schools have been a major means of preventing early handicaps from hardening into permanent ignorance and poverty. There can be no better investment in equity and democracy--and no better instrument for economic growth. For this reason, I urge action by the Congress to provide Federal aid for more adequate public school facilities, higher teachers' salaries, and better quality in education. I urge early completion of congressional action on the bill to authorize loans for construction of college academic facilities and to provide scholarships for able students who need help. The talent of our youth is a resource which must not be wasted. (para. 43)

Kennedy (1962e) furthers this argument a month later when he states:

> No task before our Nation is more important than expanding and improving the educational opportunities of all our people. The concept that every American deserves the opportunity to attain the highest level of education of which he is capable is not new to this Administration--it is a traditional ideal of democracy. But it is time that we moved toward the fulfillment of this ideal with more vigor

> and less delay . . . For education is both the foundation and the unifying force of our democratic way of life--it is the mainspring of our economic and social progress--it is the highest expression of achievement in our society, ennobling and enriching human life. In short, it is at the same time the most profitable investment society can make and the richest reward it can confer. (paras. 1–2)

President Kennedy's position that education is a key to economic success for the nation and for its individual members is represented in each of these excerpts. Education and its economic impact makes it a means to the preservation of what defines America a superior nation-state, a relationship to the paternal administration must commit to foster on the people's behalf. To accomplish this Kennedy personifies the nation-state, connects the past, present, and future to legitimate his argument, and uses inclusive pronouns to include the public.

President Johnson affirms the federal commitment to higher education and its important role in facilitating economic success. He stated in his signing statement regarding the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963:

> This legislation is dramatic, and it is concrete evidence of a renewed and continuing national commitment to education as the key to our Nation's social and technological and economic and moral progress. It will help meet the demands of our economy for more skilled personnel; it will enable many more of our young people to cope with the explosion of new knowledge and to contribute effectively in a world of intellectual, political, and economic complexity. (Johnson, 1963, para. 17)

President Johnson personifies the economy and uses inclusive pronouns to include the public in the benefits of this legislation; benefits that reach beyond intellectual development to include economic success on a national and international scale.

To further support the notion that education is a direct line to economic success, President Johnson argued, “Education must provide, as a basic part of its human development responsibility, the preparation needed for effective participation in our economic life” (Johnson1964a, para. 54). For additional support for such a claim, Johnson references a founding father, Thomas Jefferson, for legitimation of the connection of education to the economy. Johnson (1965a) remarked, “Thomas Jefferson said that no nation can be both ignorant and free. Today no nation can be both ignorant and great” (para. 105).

President Johnson most directly stated the role of higher education in supporting both American superiority and economic prowess and the resulting freedom of the nation’s people in a special message to Congress in 1968 when he argued:

> The prosperity and well-being of the United States--and thus our national interest-are vitally affected by America’s colleges and universities, junior colleges and technical institutes. Their problems are not theirs alone, but the Nation’s. This is true today more than ever. For now we call upon higher education to play a new and more ambitious role in our social progress, our economic development, our efforts to help other countries. We depend upon the universities--their training, research and extension services-for the knowledge which undergirds agricultural and industrial production. Increasingly, we look to higher education to provide the key to better employment opportunities and a more rewarding life for our citizens. As never before, we look to the colleges and universities--to their faculties, laboratories, research institutes and study centers-for help with every problem in our society and with the efforts we are making toward peace in the world. (Johnson, 1968b, paras. 49–54)

Here, President Johnson describes the role he expects higher education to play in preparing citizens to serve their nation and the world to resolve problems based most pointedly in the market economy, focused directly employment challenges and

production demands. Johnson gives power to the institution and uses inclusive pronouns to further his argument that the people as a whole can directly benefit from higher education's potential to infuse the market with both material and human capital.

President Nixon is most forthright in his belief that higher education is a valuable asset and contributor to the nation's economic status. Additionally, in the excerpt below, President Nixon links the economic assets of the nation and the individual through higher education. President Nixon (1970b) states:

> This system teaching seven million students now employs more than half a million instructors and professors and spends approximately $23 billion a year. In its most visible form, the cud result of this system contributes strongly to the highest standard of living on earth, indeed the highest in history. One of the discoveries of economists in recent years is the extraordinary, in truth the dominant, role which investment in human beings plays in economic growth. But the more profound influence of education has been in the shaping of the American democracy and the quality of life of the American people . . . No element of our national life is more worthy of our attention, our support and our concern than higher education. For no element has greater impact on the careers, the personal growth and the happiness of so many of our citizens. And no element is of greater importance in providing the knowledge and leadership on which the vitality of our democracy and the strength of our economy depends. (paras. 12, 15)

In this statement, not only is the individual linked to the personified economy of the personified nation-state, education is commodified. After all, as Reagan (1986a) later posits, "Private values must be at the heart of public policies" (para. 4).

Compounding President Nixon's connection between higher education and the market, President Ford suggested that the institution of education needed to have a direct relationship with private enterprise. In this 1974 address, Ford described a proposal he sent forth to various federal departments:

> I like the phrase of a former great President, Theodore Roosevelt: "The Government is us; we are the Government, you and I." Oh yes, your vote and your voice are essential, as essential as mine, if each American is to take individual responsibility for our collective future . . . At home the Government must help people in doing things they cannot achieve as individuals. Accordingly, I have asked the Secretaries of Commerce, Labor, and HEW to report to me new ways to bring the world of work and the institutions of education closer together. For your Government as well as you, the time has come for a fusion of the realities of a work-a-day life with the teachings of academic institutions . . . Our goal of quality education is on a collision course with the escalating demands for the public dollar. Everyone must have a clearer understanding and a clearer agreement on who is responsible for the specific aspects of the direction and the financing of a college education . . . But great problems confront us here on Earth. To face these problems, we need even more than technology, we need more than programs. We need a belief in ourselves. We need the will, the dedication, the discipline to take action. Let us take a new look at ourselves as Americans. Let us draw from every resource available. Let us seek a real partnership between the academic community and the rest of our society. Let us aspire to excellence in every aspect of our national life. (Ford, 1974, paras. 25, 28, 33, 42–43)

President Ford personifies the institution of education giving it causal powers to control the economic output of the nation and thus impact the national life—a life that the homo nationalis is expected to understand. The homo nationalis must therefore understand their role in perpetuating the economic success of the nation through their creative talents. Ford instructs the public:

> We must not smother the individual expression and creativity that exists in each and every one of us, and we must not stifle individual opportunity. The opportunity that you have to pursue a higher education is a very, very important one. But, what about the opportunities for a fulfilling career in a stable world once you leave this great university campus? My new budget for the Federal Government was designed to bolster our economy by generating new jobs, not make-work, dead-end Government-sponsored jobs, but jobs in the private sector where five out of every six jobs exist and are available in this great economy, the free enterprise system of the United States. These jobs in the private sector have careers attached to them. They offer you more than a temporary government

> paycheck. They offer you a future, they offer you a challenge. (Ford, 1976c, April 29, paras. 9–11)

In this example, Ford places responsibility on the individual members of society to pursue the educational opportunities they are provided by the paternal federal government that has made education possible and in turn employment opportunities possible. This connection between education of individuals and a return in individual economic growth is directly linked to the nation's status in the market economy; thus the burden of the nation's economically superior status is placed upon the individual members of society as Ford asserts the government provides opportunity for success, it is up to the individual to seize it for themselves and the entire nation.

Reagan's position on the connection between education and the economy is quite clear in the following statement from 1983. He stated:

> When I first addressed this Commission at its inaugural meeting in October of 1981, I pointed out that there are few areas of American life as important to our society, to our people and our parents and families as our schools and colleges. And I also noted a parallel between a decline in our education and a decline—or our economy, I should say, and a decline in education. In both cases, serious problems had grown worse because of neglect and because too many people viewed the world the way they wanted it to be rather than the way it really is. Well, we described our economy in realistic terms; we passed overdue reforms; and now the economy's growing again, but without double-digit inflation and record interest rates like before. Today we're calling attention to the way things really are in education. And this year our country will spend $215 billion for education. We spent more on education at all levels than any other country in the world. But what have we bought with all that spending? (Reagan, 1983b, paras. 4–5)

Reagan facilitated a direct causal relationship between the economy and education. His answer to the question of how to improve the economy is to provide more funding for

education in general. But at the close of this solution he poses a rhetorical question of what the return on the investment will be. This is a challenge to the educators and to those seeking education to take advantage of what is being provided (invested in) on their behalf by the (paternal) government to facilitate economic growth for those being educated (and as a result, the nation).

President Reagan continues to affirm the connection between education and economy, as exemplified by this statement:

> Yes, the American economy is changing dramatically, but one question remains constant, especially among students like yourselves: the question of jobs. So, I thought I'd talk first today about how best to prepare for the jobs of the future, then move on to a point perhaps even more important: how best to promote the economic growth that leads to job creation. In preparing Americans for the jobs of the future, perhaps the first matter that comes to mind is education. There can be no doubt that, as we prepare for the 21st century, American education itself must prepare. Last month in Missouri I devoted an entire address to this issue; today let me simply restate my firm belief that to improve our nation's competitiveness in the world economy, we must strive for new standards of excellence at all levels of American education. (Reagan, 1987, para. 5)

In this statement, education and the nation are personified, and a common present and future is established to legitimate the president's claim. However generalized the previous statements may be concerning who and what levels of education these charges are posed to, Reagan is aware of the fact that not everyone has the same educational opportunity, but for those less fortunate, education is the means to economic and social advancement. According to Reagan in 1988, ". . . for many groups, [college] education has been a key ingredient in realizing the American dream" (para. 7). The American dream is assumed to be understood by the homo nationalis, and considering the blatant

connections between educational attainment and economic success, the American dream is assumed to be connected to the same measures of success.

Following President Reagan, President Bush is most forward in his assertion that the ability of workers to attain economic success is directly connected to the nation's success when he stated: "As important as it is to reclaim our civic capital of burnished brass and polished marble, how much more important it is to reclaim our human capital" (G. H. W. Bush, 1989a, para. 20). This begs the question of how the human capital is going to be reclaimed. He offers an answer in this statement:

> Our intention is to make it easier for all Americans to pursue postsecondary education and training throughout their lifetimes . . . The world has changed, and a solid education is critical for all of us to compete effectively in today's global economy and function as responsible citizens in our American democracy. (G. H. W. Bush, 1992c, para. 2)

President Bush equates responsible citizenship to seeking education for the betterment of the market economy. He uses inclusive pronouns to assure the public that this applies to all members of society, and discusses the role the federal government has in facilitating this directive for the public. In case the public was still not convinced, later the same day President Bush offers the following evidence to support the call for education to promote economic success:

> Consider a couple of facts. In 1980, a man with a college education made on an average $11,000 more per year than a man with only a high school education. By 1990, that gap had increased to more than $16,000, and the exact same pattern happened with women's income. Those facts shout a simple truth: Education makes the difference. Every American deserves the chance to get on the ladder of opportunity and climb up. (G. H. W. Bush, 1992b, para. 9)

With this set of statistics, President Bush legitimates the claim that education is the key to economic success for the individual and the nation, and thus the superior status of the US among nations.

President Clinton is also forthcoming in his belief that higher education specifically is directly related to the economic success of the entire nation. He clearly stated this belief on 21 October 1994 during a public address: "when I became President, I did so with a commitment to help more Americans seek a higher education, because it was important for our people and important for our longterm economy" (Clinton, 1994, para. 1). He also includes that while this is a presidential initiative, it is personally important to him as he is an example of how higher education can elevate one's status as he stated "I have been given the opportunity of the American dream. I was the first person in my family ever to graduate from college" (Clinton, 1995b, para. 16). While this statement may not convince the general public, this statement assures the public that not only is higher education a key factor in personal success, it is a key factor in the success of the nation and therefore does apply to each member of the national community. Clinton stated: "Now, it is clear that America has the best higher education system in the world and that it is a key to a successful future in the 21st century . . ." (Clinton, 1996, para. 33).

To further support Clinton's claim that the value of higher education lies in economic status, he offers the following statistics, similar to his predecessor. He stated in June of 2000:

> The report also documents what you already know: The value of a college education in sheer economic terms is going up. The earnings gap between those who have a degree and those who don't is growing dramatically. Over the course of a career, a person with a bachelor's degree will earn, on average, $600,000 more than a person who has a high school diploma. The return on a college investment is now nearly double the stock market's historical rate of return. (Clinton, 2000a, para. 27)

This statement not only offers statistical evidence that a college degree has economic value, it makes a college degree a commodity. This is further supported months later when Clinton stated: "Let me say to all of you, we are here because all of us know that when we open the doors of college, we open the doors of opportunity; we give people the chance to live out their own dreams. And in the process, we strengthen our Nation and our ability to contribute to the progress of the entire world" (Clinton, 2000b, para. 5). President Clinton uses metonymy to reinforce the power of education to provide economic success, for all have the opportunity, and this success spans beyond the nation to the globe.

President Bush unquestionably continues the trend of presenting education as a commodity that supports the market economy. Not only does he assert that "[g]ood jobs begin with good schools" (G. W. Bush, 2002a, para. 34), but he also argues that "[o]ur economy demands new and different skills. We are a changing economy. And therefore, we must constantly educate workers to be able to fill the jobs of the 21st century" (G. W. Bush, 2003a, para. 35). In these text samples, President Bush uses inclusive pronouns to present the economy as something to be owned by the people and also to remind the public of their economic responsibility. He legitimates the focus on the economy by establishing a common present and future that is focused on the connection between

workers, education, job demands, and the economic vitality of the future. This argumentation is most evident in this statement from President Bush in 2005:

> Today I want to talk about education. Education, making sure we've got an educated workforce, is a vital part of making sure this economy of ours continues to grow. I've talked to a lot of employers around and say, "What is the biggest concern you have?" And one of the biggest concerns they have is the fact that they don't have workers with the skill sets necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century. So that's the challenge we face. And what we're going to talk about today is a commonsense solution of how to address that challenge and solve that problem. (G. W. Bush, 2005, para. 20)

The "commonsense solution" that President Bush addresses is focused upon the role of higher education. He argues, "America's colleges and universities have always played an important role in advancing innovation, opportunity, and prosperity throughout our Nation and the world. We must all work to provide our students with the knowledge and skills they need to shape a hopeful future for our country" (G. W. Bush, 2006b, para. 2). President Bush establishes a common past, present, and future to legitimate his position and uses metonymy to exhibit the power of the institution of higher education.

President Obama set forth his goals for higher education as a means for maintaining national economic superiority in his first State of the Union Address. Obama establishes this goal in this statement:

> And dropping out of high school is no longer an option. It's not just quitting on yourself, it's quitting on your country, and this country needs and values the talents of every American. That's why we will support--we will provide the support necessary for all young Americans to complete college and meet a new goal. By 2020, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. That is a goal we can meet. That's a goal we can meet. (Obama, 2009a, para. 49)

To meet the goal of leading the world college attainment, the Obama administration had to offer a sound federal plan for assisting institutions of higher education and the vast public included in this initiative. In 2009, Obama set forth his plan in this address:

> The second pillar of this new foundation is an education system that finally prepares our workers for a 21st century economy. You know, in the 20th century, the GI bill helped send a generation to college. For decades, we led the world in educational attainment, and as a consequence, we led the world in economic growth. But in this new economy, we've come to trail the world's leaders in graduation rates, in educational achievement, in the production of scientists and engineers. That's why we have set a goal that will greatly enhance our ability to compete for the high-wage, high-tech jobs of the 21st century. By 2020, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. That is the goal that we have set, and we intend to meet it. Now, to meet that goal, we have to start early. So we've already dramatically expanded early childhood education. We are investing in innovative programs that have proven to help schools meet high standards and close achievement gaps. We're creating new rewards that tie teachers' performance and new pathways for advancement. And I've asked every American to commit to at least 1 year or more of higher education or career training, and we have provided tax credits to make a college education more affordable for every American, even those who attend Georgetown. And, by the way, one of the changes that I would like to see--and I'm going to be talking about this in weeks to come--is once again seeing our best and our brightest commit themselves to making things--engineers, scientists, innovators. For so long, we have placed at the top of our pinnacle folks who can manipulate numbers and engage in complex financial calculations. And that's good, we need some of that. But you know what we can really use is some more scientists and some more engineers, who are building and making things that we can export to other countries. (2009d, paras. 45–47)

Obama describes what the government expects and intends to offer to help the public meet the goal of college attainment and encourages the public by describing the economic return on the investment of their time and effort in post-secondary education; the economic benefit to the individual, the market, and the nation. To legitimate his plan, Obama references past legislation that was historically proven to educate more people in

the US. He also uses the paternal 'we' to describe the role of the federal government in assuring the public the plan will work and they will see an individual economic benefit.

Not only is there an economic return on higher education, but President Obama explained to the public in 2009 that knowledge is in fact a commodity to be sold. He stated: "In a 21st century economy where the most valuable skill you can sell is your knowledge, education is the single best bet we can make, not just for our individual success, but for the success of the Nation as a whole" (Obama, 2009e, para. 8). As for the individual's economic return, Obama offered statistics that argue "[t]he average college graduate earns 80 percent more than those who stopped after high school" (para. 8). Thus,

> education is critical to our children's future and to the continued growth and prosperity of our Nation. To maintain our leadership in the global economy, we have an obligation to provide a high-quality education to our children and ensure they can obtain higher education and job training. (Obama, 2010a, para. 1)

In these text examples, President Obama uses the person for country deictic 'we' to personify the nation, uses the inclusive 'we' to relate to the public, and he establishes a common present and future to legitimate his argument.

If "higher education is the single most important investment you can make in your future . . ." (Obama, 2012, para. 8), and if this education leads to individual prosperity and in turn the nation's economy, then the nation can maintain its superior status in the world market. Thus, if higher education is expected to support economic growth and sustainability for the nation and for the members of the national community, this makes educational institutions economic agents. Each presidential administration studied, as

evidenced in the findings, references the importance of higher education in a strong national economy. These findings will be discussed in the concluding chapter. Next, I will discuss the findings relevant to the occurrence of policy paradigms, which also supports the legitimacy of the research and the role of higher education on a national scale; followed by findings relevant to ways in which community colleges and universities experience their role in perpetuating the dominant national identity in the given timeframe.

Policy Paradigms

The parameters of this study were purposefully selected based on federal attention to higher education; 1946 was selected as the beginning as that is the year the Truman Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy was appointed and began work and 2013, the closing year of this study, was selected as the Obama administration's American Graduation Initiative is at the present time of this study a work in progress. These administrations represent two of the four projected policy paradigm shifts (Hall, 1993) I identified to set the limits of the study; the additional paradigm shifts I projected were expected to occur during the Johnson and Clinton administrations (see Figure 2). Findings suggest that the presence of federal attention through presidential appointed commissions and federal legislation, coupled with the impetus of the importance of higher education to the nation-state's identity result in policy paradigm shifts, discussed in detail in this section and represented in Figure 4.

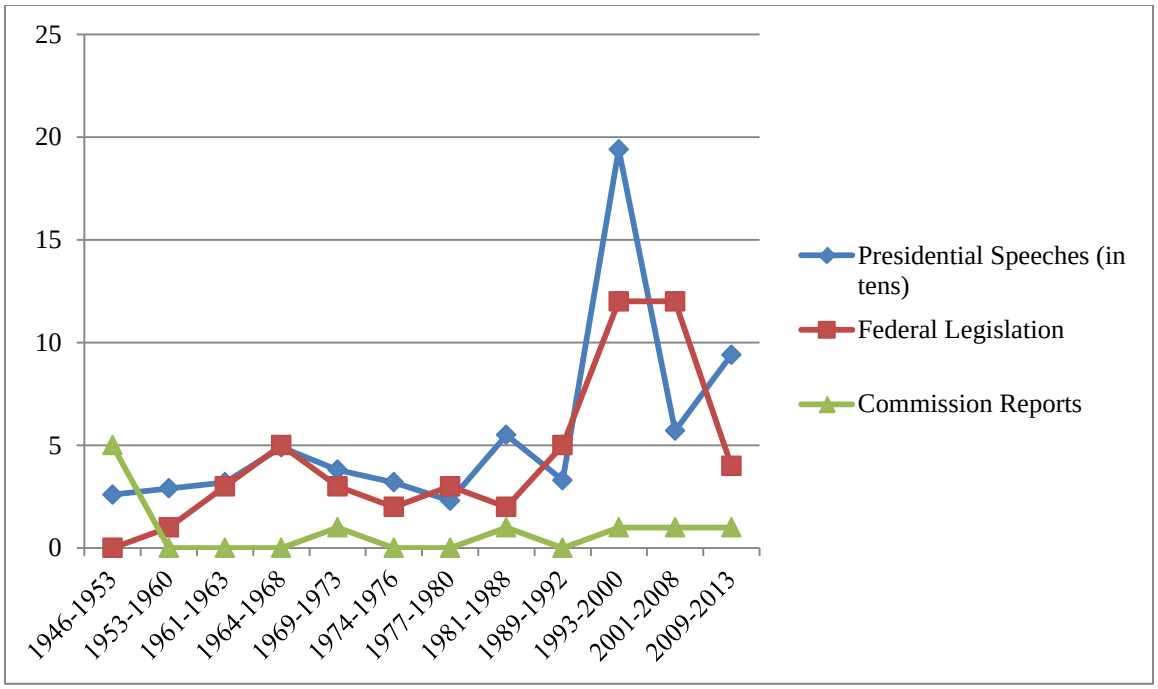


Figure 4. Patterns of Federal Activity Regarding Higher Education, 1946–2013.

Facilitating Paradigm Shifts

Hall's (1993) approach to understanding policy formation and paradigm shifts that occur as a result involves three stages of policy creation that lead to the ideological shift; analyzing policy through this lens requires the researcher to analyze the discourse around the process to establishing a need for policy (settings), the ideological and discursive mechanisms that facilitate the creation of policy (instruments), and the actual policy paradigm shift that occurs when policy is written and ratified, creating a shift in power between the policymakers (in this case federal) and the institution the policy directly effects in either function or purpose (in this case higher education). When the third order change of paradigm shift occurs, the social institution (higher education)

effected recreates the dominant discursive identity that is supported, promoted, and discursively constructed by the policymaker(s) (presidential administration).

To identify policy paradigm shifts in this study, I take into account the public presidential texts, commission reports, and federal legislation. By analyzing the presidential discourse, first order changes (settings) are identified when presidents state their agenda for the nation and education in formal addresses, such as inaugural addresses, state of the union addresses, and special messages to Congress. Second order changes (instruments) are found in commission reports, proclamations, executive orders, and informal public addresses that repeat the same rhetoric found in the previously stated documents; these reports, proclamations, and executive orders are only second order changes as they do not carry the weight of policy but dictate directly what the administration expects in the formation of policy, informing policymakers of how to write the policy to reflect the goals of the administration. Third order changes are found in the federal legislation that directly impacts the function of higher education. Thus the paradigm shift is identified in both policy and presidential discourses regarding the enactment of such policy and the expectations the administrations have for higher education to meet the goals of the legislative policy.

Shifts Identified

The Truman Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy, established in 1946, was charged with studying the challenges facing higher education in the aftermath of the Second World War. Challenges to American higher education were the result of the influx of students who took advantage of the collegiate provisions in the

Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill), additional needs for this population of students, as well as curricular and content changes and challenges that resulted from the war itself, the inclusion of more worldly or global topics of study and discussion, and the need for additional civilian leaders in a post-War world. This law created a paradigm shift prior to the limits of this study, its impact being evident in the Truman Commission Report on Higher Education for American Democracy as this report addressed physical, fiscal, curricular, and organizational changes that higher education needed to make to properly respond to the growth and challenges the institution faced as a result of the great influx of students after the GI Bill passed, as well as the social and curricular changes associated with the end of the Second World War. Additionally, the Commission called for a focus on the community college as an important feature of American higher education that needed to be utilized more effectively to meet the post-war demands. Furthermore, this legislation set the standard for future enactments focused on higher education; it is used as a benchmark for federal legislative action involving higher education and will be a reference point for presidential administrations seeking to alter, or create, federal policies regarding higher education during their terms in office.

Following the Truman Commission's report, during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, higher education remained an important focus in the advancement of social and economic progress for the nation. A result of this focus was the implementation of four additional federal acts relevant to higher education. While these legislative actions had an impact on higher education, none were as influential as impending Higher Education Act of 1965.

During the Johnson administration one of the greatest acts of federal higher education legislation was passed, the Higher Education Act of 1965. While this act has been amended and reauthorized multiple times throughout its history to present day (1968, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1986, 1992, 1998, 203, 2008, and 2013), its founding provisions established in the original 1965 legislation are unmatched by any single federal action regarding higher education (Clinton, 1998). This Act granted federal funds to institutions and, most importantly, enabled students to receive federal financial aid making higher education accessible to portions of the population that would otherwise be excluded. Socially, this is was an effort reflective of the general focus on civil rights and equality that engulfed the US in the 1960s; it was also specific to the Johnson administration's call for a Great Society. This act's impact on the function of higher education, coupled with the social and political goals of the nation and the dominant identity of the era, facilitated a profound paradigm shift, extending higher education's social role beyond the traditional goals of creation of knowledge and educating future leaders to include in its purpose to be an agent of social change and representation of the American public as a whole, not just those who could afford a higher education.

Following the Johnson administration, President Nixon was faced with the challenge of increased social activism on American college campuses during the Vietnam War; most notably the Kent State protest and subsequent shooting. This incident prompted a Presidential Commission Report on Campus Violence (1970). In addition, three federal laws were passed during the Nixon administration, including a reauthorization of the Higher Education Act and Title IX. While these laws did impact

campuses, especially those dealing with some form of unrest, the actions were limited to a brief period of time, and once the Vietnam War ended, unrest was settled, and the topic was no longer a focus of the administration. Therefore, this report, legislation, and subject of presidential discourse do not meet Hall's (1993) qualifications for a paradigm shift as the topic becomes null after the war's end, also during Nixon's administration.

Presidents Ford and Carter position higher education as an important source of economic growth for the nation, as evidenced in the previous findings section, but the few federal acts passed during their administrations do not constitute a paradigm shift. However, in the Reagan administration, there is an important commission report and several acts of legislation that could have facilitated a paradigm shift, had there been federal action resulting from the commission report. The commission's report, A Nation at Risk, had a latent impact, well after the Reagan administration, as President Clinton references the report as a benchmark for his administration's goals for education. Unfortunately the Bush administration following Reagan did not seize the opportunity to build on the report's data, although federal legislation was passed that impacted higher education. Thus, the next paradigm shift occurs during the Clinton administration.

The Clinton administration was very active in education reform at all levels. With the Goals 2000 initiative, report, and subsequent legislation, Clinton (1993a) sought to transform education at all levels to meet the demands of the impending global economy of the 21st century. Clinton (1997b) stated that "[e]ducation clearly will become even more important to our people in the days ahead; that is why I have made it my number one priority as President" (para. 6). With 12 acts of federal legislation and the Goals

2000 initiative, President Clinton did make education, and notably higher education, a dominant focus of his administration's agenda. The stated goals of the administration, the subsequent initiative and report, the enactment of legislation, and the continued focus of the Clinton administration on the role of higher education in promoting American superiority supports the finding that another paradigm shift occurs during the second Clinton administration.

The discourses promoted by President Clinton is carried over into the Bush administration as President Bush's administration focuses on higher education's ability to promote a prosperous market economy, noted by a presidential commission report, and another twelve acts of legislation results from the administration's goals. However, the focus on higher education is similar to that of Clinton and the 12 acts, while very important to higher education, do not alter the function or purpose of higher education from the Clinton to Bush administrations; rather, this continuation of legislation and presidential attention to higher education supports the claim that a shift occurred during Clinton's second term in office.

President Bush's continuation of the focus on higher education as a means for the country to maintain or build upon economic superiority remained a central theme into the Obama administration, throughout the first administration and now to the current, second term in office. To date, the Obama administration has enacted four education acts and has built the education agenda upon the American Graduation Initiative, announced in 2009. The American Graduation Initiative asks the American public to commit to at least one year of training after high school as a means to meet the benchmark of having the

most college graduates (associate's degree or higher) in the world by 2020 (Obama, 2009c). President Obama argues that having post-secondary training, whether it is strictly job-related or in an academic milieu, will increase productivity for the nation, increase capital for the nation, and make individual Americans more prosperous (Obama, 2009c).

At this point in 2013, direct legislation has not passed that would move this initiative to a federal mandate. However, institutions of higher education are responding to the call to improve graduation rates by changes processes, curriculums, and even degree requirements to attempt to meet the goals. Thus, at this point in late 2013, I project that the shift is underway, and the results remain to be seen through the end of President Obama's second term. Whereas I cannot definitively state that a shift has occurred at this time, it is evident in Obama's discourses concerning higher education that the purpose of higher education established by recent predecessors as a mechanism of economic development is most certainly at the heart of Obama's higher education initiatives and more clearly than before is focused directly on workforce development, arguably shifting the dominant purpose of higher education to a commodity, a means to produce human capital for the global market economy.

From the data analysis through the lens of Hall's (1993) policy paradigms, I find that paradigm shifts do in fact occur during the Truman, Johnson, and Clinton administrations, with a shift possibly in process, and unfortunately cannot be determined within the limits of my study, during the current Obama administration. These presidential administrations used higher education as a means to reach the goals of their

administrations, some due to historical circumstance, others due to initiatives created by the administration. Regardless of external circumstances, the presidents established goals through discursive interactions in the public realm, informed policymakers of what the policies needed to include through formal addresses, proclamations, and executive orders, and laws were enacted that supported or helped the administration reach its goals through a change in function or purpose of higher education after legislation was enforced.

An important aspect of the goals set forth by presidential administrations not presented as part of the paradigm shifts is how the presidential administrations consider the community colleges and universities as different or the same, and what that means for the institutions as they enact the policies and demands set forth at the federal level that in turn re-creates national identity. In the following section, I close with the findings regarding the varied expectations of tertiary higher education and how those institutions are expected to reproduce or support the dominant national identity during the administrations considered in this study.

Tertiary Higher Education and Reproduction of National Identity

In the 662 speeches and public statements made by presidents from 1946 to 2013 higher education is a topic considered in each. Higher education in general is referenced or discussed, but also specific institution types are addressed. For example, presidents speak of higher education, universities, and colleges generally, but they also specify private colleges, historically black colleges and universities, and community colleges. I am not considering the differences in how presidents discuss public versus private colleges, or historically black institutions. However, that may be a point of interest for

further research. In this study I consider how presidents discuss or promote the role of universities (a general reference to public institutions of higher education granting a minimum of a baccalaureate degree) and community colleges (associate's degree granting public institutions) in the expectations of meeting the call for social institutions to re-create, re-negotiate, and re-enact the dominant national identity in the given administration's time. My question asks, how, if at all, does institutional hierarchy prescribe differing varieties of national identity? Findings suggest that while there is a general expectation of all institutions of higher education to support and reaffirm the nation's goals and thus identity, there is a difference in how presidents ascribe the position of the institution within their discursive framework of national identity, causing a divide in how the institution negotiates that identity; a divide based upon socio-economic class discrepancies represented by the hierarchical position of the university and community college respectively.

Data from Presidential Texts

Even though the term community college was coined by the Truman Commission, it was not a common focus of presidential attention until the 1960s. However, presidents did define the university's role in the nation-state and in doing so crafted a legacy for the university to assume, outside or even separate from its counterpart, the community college. For example, President Eisenhower, although already established as a supporter of higher education as a means to promote economic advancement for the nation, stated to university graduates at their commencement in 1960 that "[c]learly, you--you graduates who enjoy the blessings of higher education have a special responsibility to

exercise leadership in helping others understand these problems" (para. 25). In this example, Eisenhower asserts that college baccalaureate graduates are poised to lead in a society that consists of those who are educated and understand the world around them, and those who do not have an understanding or an education. Thus, the university has prepared its graduates to shape the nation through their knowledge and superior status in life as a result of their education.

President Kennedy focused on building community colleges as a means to educate people who otherwise would not have the opportunity to attend college; in other words, build community colleges in communities in which the population was too poor to afford a university education. He stated in 1963 that:

> The opportunity for a college education is severely limited for hundreds of thousands of young people because there is no college in their own community. Studies indicate that the likelihood of going to college on the part of a high school graduate who lives within 20-25 miles of a college is 50 percent greater than it is for the student who lives beyond commuting distance. This absence of college facilities in many communities causes an unfortunate waste of some of our most promising youthful talent. A demonstrated method of meeting this particular problem effectively is the creation of 2-year community colleges--a program that should be undertaken without delay and which will require Federal assistance for the construction of adequate facilities . . . I recommend, therefore, a program of grants to States for construction of public community junior colleges. (Kennedy, 1963a, paras. 41–42)

Thus, the poorer students will be relegated to technical training while those who could afford to attend a university received a different education with different goals. In contrast, Kennedy believed that the universities and four year colleges were the answer to many of the nation's challenges. He stated:

> Our colleges and universities represent our ultimate educational resource. In these institutions are produced the leaders and other trained persons whom we need to carry forward our highly developed civilization. If the colleges and universities fail to do their job, there is no substitute to fulfill their responsibility. The threat of opposing military and ideological forces in the world lends urgency to their task. But that task would exist in any case. (Kennedy, 1961d, para. 18)

In a proclamation to the nation in 1961, Kennedy argued:

> Whereas the land-grant institutions in the fifty States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico carry research and teaching to the citizens of these States and the Commonwealth and to people of other nations, particularly the emerging nations, seeking solutions to economic, social, and physical ills, and enriching the cultural life of the people; and . . . Whereas the land-grant system of higher education is the Nation's largest single source of trained and educated manpower and now contributes more than one-half of the Nation's trained scientists and nearly one-half of all Regular and Reserve officers entering the armed forces through the military programs conducted at civilian institutions. . . . I also request that such centennial be otherwise appropriately celebrated to the end that the occasion may serve to commemorate the unparalleled opportunities for higher education provided by these publicly supported institutions and their efforts through teaching, research, and service to improve the economic, social, and cultural lives of the people of this Nation and of other nations. (Kennedy, 1961c, paras. 3–4, 8)

Continuing this praise for the land-grant college's offerings, Kennedy stated in November of 1961:

> These universities have grown as our Nation's needs have grown. The original endowment called for instruction which emphasized agricultural and mechanized arts, and with their help the strongest agricultural community on earth was built. Today these schools teach subjects ranging from philosophy to science and the conduct of foreign relations--the whole broad spectrum of knowledge upon which the future of this country and freedom depends, and upon which the well-being of Americans who will come after us is so richly intertwined. (Kennedy, 1961b, para. 5)

In this commencement address at Yale University, Kennedy proclaims the superior value of Yale graduates in this portion of his speech:

> I speak of these matters here at Yale because of the self-evident truth that a great university is always enlisted against the spread of illusion and on the side of reality. No one has said it more clearly than your President Griswold: "Liberal learning is both a safeguard against false ideas of freedom and a source of true ones." Your role as university men, whatever your calling, will be to increase each new generation's grasp of its duties. (Kennedy, 1962b, para. 10)

Universities are expected to provide cutting edge research as well as civic leadership; according to President Kennedy, this is vital to the nation-state's identity. The following example clearly explains Kennedy's expectations of universities. He argued that

> [t]he future of these young people and the Nation rests in large part on their access to college and graduate education. For this country reserves its highest honors for only one kind of aristocracy-that which the Founding Fathers called 'an aristocracy of achievement arising out of a democracy of opportunity.' (Kennedy, 1963a, para. 24)

To further the focus on university education, and a service only the university could provide, Kennedy (1963a) suggests that the "[e]xpansion of high quality graduate education and research in all fields is essential to national security and economic growth" (para. 47). Obviously community colleges cannot experience this or answer the call as they are not equipped to deliver graduate education, which is a must, according to Kennedy, for national security and economic prowess.

The Johnson administration made its mark on higher education with the renowned Higher Education Act of 1965. Clearly an effort to expand access for populations previously otherwise excluded from higher education due to lack of financial resources,

this promotes an idea of inclusion and equality, a foundation of Johnson's Great Society program and a general social movement in the US in the 1960s. Whereas this act did offer more students a means to pay for college, it did not change the purpose of the universities and community colleges as described by President Johnson, or their resulting roles in perpetuating American national identity. In early 1965, Johnson stated his vision for community colleges. He states, "[v]ocational education must be more closely related to the demands of the modern world as well as to the opportunities for further training which will be afforded by the community college . . ." (Johnson, 1965b, para. 8). This example of rhetoric repeated by President Johnson when discussing the purpose of community colleges exhibits the expectation of community colleges to focus on developing workers for economic gains, not leaders for civil society. In 1968, President Johnson reaffirms this purpose stating:

> We must do more to improve vocational education programs. We must help high schools, vocational schools, technical institutes, and community colleges to modernize their programs, to experiment with new approaches to job training. Above all, we must build stronger links between the schools and their students, and local industries and employment services, so that education will have a direct relationship to the world the graduating student enters. (Johnson, 1968b, para. 42)

In this statement, President Johnson contrasts the purpose of the university against the purpose of the community college. He argued:

> We must provide broad opportunity for education beyond high school. A sound college education or junior college or technical school preparation is necessary for a rapidly growing proportion of occupations. We must provide increased opportunity for education at the postgraduate level. The increasing complexity of many technical and managerial occupations makes education beyond college essential. Moreover, to foster the leadership resources of the Nation, we must

> augment the supply of qualified teachers and stimulate the creative talent of our managers, scientists, engineers, educators, and other strategic professional personnel. (Johnson, 1964a, paras. 57–58)

At the University of Michigan commencement ceremony of 1964, President Johnson offered this advice to the new graduates as they emerge from higher education to take their rightful place in American society. Johnson (1964b) stated,

> Woodrow Wilson once wrote: "Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time." Within your lifetime, powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination. (paras. 34–35)

Johnson makes a clear separation of purposes between the university and the community college during his administration, an administration lauded for opening the doors of higher education to the masses.

President Nixon notes the divide between universities and community colleges, and while calling for change in the inequitable distribution of support to the various institutions, mandates the purpose of community colleges as strictly vocational. Nixon addressed Congress, stating

> Something is wrong with our higher education policy when--on the threshold of a decade in which enrollments will increase almost 50%--not nearly enough attention is focused on the two-year community colleges so important to the careers of so many young people. (Nixon, 1970b, para. 4)

In a special message to Congress on 19 March 1970, Nixon argued, in support of proposed legislation, that:

> Two-year community colleges and technical institutes hold great promise for giving the kind of education which leads to good jobs and also for filling national shortages in critical skill occupations. Costs for these schools are relatively low, especially since there are few residential construction needs. A dollar spent on community colleges is probably spent as effectively as anywhere in the educational world. These colleges, moreover, have helped many communities forge a new identity. They serve as a meeting ground for young and old, black and white, rich and poor, farmer and technician. They avoid the isolation, alienation and lack of reality that many young people find in multiversities or campuses far away from their own community. At the same time, critical manpower shortages exist in the United States in many skilled occupational fields such as police and fire science, environmental technology and medical para-professionals. Community colleges and similar institutions have the potential to provide programs to train persons in these manpower-deficient fields. Special training like this typically costs more than general education and requires outside support. Accordingly, I have proposed that Congress establish a Career Education Program, to be funded at $100 million in fiscal 1972. The purpose of this program is to assist States and colleges in meeting the additional costs of starting career education programs in critical skill areas in community and junior colleges and technical institutes. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare would provide formula grants to the States, to help them meet a large part of the costs of equipping and running such programs, in critical skill areas as defined by the Secretary of Labor. (Nixon, 1970b, para. 34–42)

Countering the focus of workforce development for community college students, Nixon proposes that the university offers the nation leadership in this statement from 1970:

> But let us understand exactly where we are. I would not for one moment call for a dull, passive conformity on the part of our university and college students, or an acceptance of the world as it is. The great strength of this Nation is that our young people, the young people like those in this room, in generation after generation, give the Nation new ideas, new directions, new energy. (Nixon, 1970a, para. 52)

The Ford administration is an exception in comparison to the administrations discussed to this point. President Ford considers both universities and community colleges as a means to produce workers to benefit the nation's market economy. For

example, Ford argued in a proclamation that "[b]eyond high school, our many fine colleges, universities, and occupational schools give young people the opportunity to prepare for virtually any career and to fulfill almost any desire for self-enrichment . . ." (Ford, 1976a, para. 3). In Ford's speeches regarding higher education, as discussed in a previous section, higher education's purpose in the US is to bolster the economy by training future workers and creating more products to be traded. He does not make a distinction in purpose between universities and community colleges in the data analyzed.

Following Ford's administration, the Carter administration also focuses on the economic output of higher education at all levels of higher education, not separating the purpose based on an educational hierarchy. This was the focus of the Carter administration's goals for higher education throughout his term in office. Exemplified in his signing statement in 1980 regarding the Higher Education Act Amendments, Carter stated

> This legislation will, for the first time, bind in an official way the Department of Labor and the Department of Education so that in the future the products of high schools, community colleges, vocational and technical schools, and senior colleges will be more accurately oriented toward career opportunities in the communities where the graduates will live. (Carter, 1980, para. 11)

In this statement, all institutions of higher education are considered equal in their purpose to serve the economy.

President Reagan, in contrast to the two presidents before him, makes his expectations for tertiary higher education clear in his public addresses. In Proclamation

5418, Reagan defines the role of community colleges in the US as institutions dedicated to vocational training. He proclaimed:

> The more than thirteen hundred community, technical, and junior colleges, public and private, in the United States have contributed enormously to the richness and availability of American higher education. Nearly half of all undergraduate college students in the Nation today are enrolled in such institutions. By providing educational opportunities at costs and locations accessible to all who are qualified, community, technical, and junior colleges have greatly enhanced the opportunity for every ambitious student, young or old, to enter a postsecondary school program. As community-based institutions, these schools provide varied programs and offer specialized training for more than one thousand occupations. (Reagan, 1985, paras. 1–2)

In contrast to this defined role for community colleges, Reagan (1986b) argues that "Colleges and universities enhance the mental and moral development of their graduates" (para. 1), clearly prescribing a different role to the baccalaureate granting institution.

President Bush also considered the purpose of universities and community colleges as different in his expectations of how the hierarchy of institutions were expected to support America's superior economic position among nations. In the following statement, President Bush relegates vocational education and remedial education to the community college. Bush stated in a public address:

> There is more opportunity today than ever before, but only for those who are prepared to take advantage of it. For those workers who lack skills and basic education today, a comfortable middle-class existence will be harder and harder to come by. And when some high school grads can't find jobs in a market begging for workers, then we've got a serious social imbalance; we have an education gap. Let's bridge that gap. Let's bridge it as fast as we possibly can. You're doing it. Community colleges provide such a bridge to higher education, a ready resource for vocational training and adult remedial education. You provide access for precisely the very people who are being summoned to alleviate the coming labor shortage. Some of your programs spell opportunity for the most disadvantaged

> members of the work force. But they also spell opportunity for business at the same time. The disadvantaged and business are coming together in hundreds of programs -- from Colorado to Kansas to Kentucky -- called employer-college partnerships. And this friendly merger of business and academia is a sweeping force for social improvement. Everyone must work together if America is to remain prosperous and competitive in the years ahead. (G. H. W. Bush, 1989a, paras. 17–18)

Later, in the same address, President Bush makes the argument even stronger that the community college exists to produce human capital when he directly addressed community college leaders:

> As important as it is to reclaim our civic capital of burnished brass and polished marble, how much more important it is to reclaim our human capital. Think, then, of our educational system in this way: as a vast and beautiful inheritance which must be lovingly restored -- not once, but every generation. And in this effort, make no little plans. Think big; aim high in hope and work. Continue to work together as a community, to help your students, to lift their vision and lengthen their horizon. (G. H. W. Bush, 1989a, paras. 20–21)

In contrast, when discussing the role of state funded land grant institutions, Bush posited:

> And it was Abraham Lincoln who, one year earlier, as Chase alluded to, signed the Morrill Act into law, launching the great land-grant colleges and a uniquely American philosophy towards higher education. America's State universities and land-grant colleges opened the door of opportunity to millions of talented kids whose backgrounds might otherwise have precluded their advancement and education; and it marked the first time in American history, in world history, that people of every background were given a chance to prove their abilities through higher education. Your institutions have continued to successfully evolve because you've always been there to address the needs of each sector, maturing as universities as America has matured as a nation. Step by step, side by side, the strength of America depends on the strength of our youth, and the strength of our youth depends on the strength of your schools. Like America's bountiful harvests, America's system of higher education is the envy of the world. And your institutions are filled with powerful examples of what is right about education in America. And many of those examples were cited by your

> Governors in Charlottesville earlier this fall as we worked together to address the changing challenges in American education. (G. H. W. Bush, 1989b, paras. 4–6)

While both institutions are expected to train people to contribute to the nation's economic status, the social hierarchy between institutions and its graduates is evidenced in these representative text examples from President Bush's term.

The inequitable relationship between community colleges and universities is most obviously noted during the Clinton administration, as evidenced below. President Clinton plainly stated that the community college is considered to be a lesser institution and calls for a change in the national perspective of what he considers to be a great institution for economic development. In contrast, when addressing universities, Clinton often stated that it was without question that the US had the greatest system of higher education in the world. Most importantly for my study, Clinton recognized the social divide that resulted from the difference in educational attainment, reflected in the tertiary system of higher education in the US.

In regards to the purpose of community colleges, President Clinton offered in a public address in 1995:

> Today I want to talk to you about your future. I spend a lot of time in community colleges like this one, because I think in many ways this is the most important institution in American society as we move toward the next century. With all of the challenges we face, we basically know what works. What works is educating all of our people; what works is doing what it takes to generate more jobs; what works is bringing people together across racial and income and other lines; what works is a commitment to give more people a shot at the American dream, to grow the middle class and to shrink the under class, and to prepare for the future. And that's what community colleges do. (Clinton, 1995d, paras. 5–6)

President Clinton believed so strongly that the community college could promote socio-economic advancement for people through better jobs that he proposed the following to Congress:

> And we also want to do some other things that I believe we must do to make 14 years of education the standard for every American. First, I have asked Congress to pass a $10,000 tax deduction to help families pay for the cost of all education after high school, $10,000 a year. Today I announce one more element to complete our college strategy and make those 2 years of college as universal as 4 years of high school, a way to do it by giving families a tax credit targeted to achieve that goal and making clear that this opportunity requires responsibility to receive it. We should say to Americans who want to go to college, we will give you a tax credit to pay the cost of tuition at the average community college for your first year, or you can apply the same amount to the first year in a 4-year university or college. We will give you the exact same cut for the second year but only if you earn it by getting a B average the first year, a tax deduction for families to help them pay for education after high school, a tax credit for individuals to guarantee their first year of college and the second year if they earn it. This is not just for those individuals, this is for America. Your America will be stronger if all Americans have at least 2 years of higher education. Think of it: We're not only saying to children from very poor families who think they would never be able to go to college, people who may not have stellar academic records in high school, if you're willing to work hard and take a chance, you can at least go to your local community college, and we'll pay for the first year. If you're in your twenties and you're already working but you can't move ahead on a high school diploma, now you can go back to college. If you're a mother planning to go to work but you're afraid you don't have the skills to get a good job, you can go to college. If you're 40 and you're worried that you need more education to support your family, now you can go part time, you can go at night. By all means, go to college, and we'll pay the tuition. (Clinton, 1996, paras. 36–40)

President Clinton was very devoted to the development of community colleges for the nation's benefit, but he also saw great worth in the universities, evident in this statement at the Michigan State University commencement on 5 May 1995; he said,

> [b]ecause you have a fine education, with all its power and potential, when you leave this stadium your responsibility to your families, your community, and your

> country will be greater than ever before. With your lives fully before you, you too must once again redeem the promise of America. (Clinton, 1995c, para. 14)

At Dartmouth, Clinton expressed the same point to the institutions graduates when he stated "[n]ow there are unparalleled opportunities for those of you with a wonderful education in this global economy and this information age" (Clinton, 1995b, para. 7). Both of these statements reflect an economic purpose for higher education, but in contrast to the statements regarding community colleges as places to develop workers, these students with baccalaureate degrees now have expressed opportunities awaiting them in and outside of the market. However negative this appears on Clinton's behalf, he is well aware of the difference level of education makes for the public. Clinton acknowledges this challenge in a 1996 address at Princeton University when he stated:

> America knows that higher education is the key to the growth we need to lift our country. And today that is more true than ever. Just listen to these facts. Over half the new jobs created in the last 3 years have been managerial and professional jobs. The new jobs require higher level skills. Fifteen years ago the typical worker with a college degree made 38 percent more than a worker with a high school diploma. Today that figure is 73 percent more. Two years of college means a 20 percent increase in annual earnings. People who finish 2 years of college earn a quarter of a million dollars more than their high school counterparts over a lifetime. (Clinton, 1996, para. 32)

Adding credibility to the claim I make that Clinton is aware of the division education creates among American society, he also acknowledges this discrepancy when he stated that "[i]n our Nation, for the first time since World War II, we have watched, over the last decade and more, the great American middle class which is the core of our idea of America begin to split apart along the fault line of education . . ." (Clinton, 1995b, para.

12). When discussing the need to address this issue, Clinton posed these questions to the American public:

> The unmistakable faultline in America over who makes it and who doesn't today, more than ever before, is education. So as we go back to school and the Congress goes back to work, the question is, will your country continue to help those who want to help themselves? Will your country do what it ought to do now, which is what it did for me when I was your age? Will your country meet the challenges of the 21st century, or will we cut off our nose to spite our face by cutting back on educational aid at the time when we need to invest more in it? (Clinton, 1995f, paras. 16–17)

President Clinton expected all institutions of higher education to support the economic goals of the nation-state as a whole. However, he acknowledged the fact that the community college was relegated to help a specific under-class, the working class, to raise their socio-economic position, while the universities were expected to help a population already in a dominant economic position in society reach their economic goals.

President Bush follows Clinton with a clear distinction between the execution of the economic purposes of community colleges and universities respectively. In January of 2002, President Bush acknowledges there is a significant difference in what a two-year and four-year degree can offer its graduates. He stated:

> First, let me tell you, I am a big believer in making sure our community colleges remain affordable, available, and flexible. And the reason I believe that is that I understand that the best way to make sure people have got the ability to work is for there to be a training—a retraining opportunity. In other words, communities must figure out how to match up a community college system with jobs that actually exist. It seems like to me, in order for America to be hopeful for everybody, we need to have flexibility, at some point, in the higher education system. And the best place for that flexibility to occur is at the community

> college level. Technologies race through the country, our economies, but people get left behind. And therefore, there needs to be a system to retrain people for the jobs that actually exist, and the best place to do that, in my judgment, is the community college. I'm not pandering. I happen to believe that. Now, higher education takes all kinds of—there's all kinds of different ways to achieve higher education. A community college system is one, a 4-year college; there's others. One of the things I think we need to do is expand the Pell grant system to help people afford higher education. (G. W. Bush, 2002b, paras. 75–80)

In September of 2003, President Bush more clearly stated the distinct purpose of the community college:

> Our economy demands new and different skills. We are a changing economy. And therefore, we must constantly educate workers to be able to fill the jobs of the 21st century. And so therefore, I went to Congress and asked for increased funding for Pell grants for higher education scholarships. Now, more than 1.9 million community college students receive those grants. Community colleges are great places for people to learn new skills so they can fill the new jobs of the 21st century. And that's why the Department of Labor has begun a high-tech job training initiative to create partnerships between employers—those people who know what kind of jobs are needed— community colleges, and career centers so that those looking for work can match education and the skills they learn with the jobs that actually exist. (G. W. Bush, 2003a, paras. 35–36)

In contrast, President Bush stated that universities offer the nation leadership and answer the market's demand for competition. He argued in 2006:

> And there are several ways to look at the world in which we live. We can say, "We understand the world the way it is, and we're confident in our capacity to shape the future," or, "We don't like the way the world is, and we're going to withdraw and retreat." Withdrawing and retreating is not the right thing to do, in my judgment. America has always been able to compete. As a matter of fact, America should not be afraid of competition; we ought to welcome it and continue to be the leader of the world—the world's economy. We ought to continue to be the leader in research and development. We need to continue to be the leader in higher education. We shouldn't lose our nerve. We shouldn't see the future and fear the future; we ought to welcome the future. (G. W. Bush, 2006a, para. 16)

Later in September 2006, President Bush reinforced the superior status of baccalaureate degree granting institutions when he stated that

> America's colleges and universities have always played an important role in advancing innovation, opportunity, and prosperity throughout our Nation and the world. We must all work to provide our students with the knowledge and skills they need to shape a hopeful future for our country. (G. W. Bush, 2006b, para. 2)

Currently, President Obama's second administration is focusing on the American Graduation Initiative, proposed early in his first term, which aims to position the US as the world leader in college degree attainment by 2020. This initiative is predominantly focused on the community college as this goal serves a dual purpose as it will also assist the US in meeting its goals in the 21st century global economy. On July 14, 2009, President Obama revealed the goals of the American Graduation Initiative:

> But we also have to ensure that we're educating and preparing our people for the new jobs of the 21st century. We've got to prepare our people with the skills they need to compete in this global economy. Time and again, when we've placed our bet for the future on education, we have prospered as a result, by tapping the incredible innovative and generative potential of a skilled American workforce. That's what happened when President Lincoln signed into law legislation creating the land grant colleges, which not only transformed higher education but also our entire economy. That's what took place when President Roosevelt signed the GI bill, which helped educate a generation and ushered in an era of unprecedented prosperity. That was the foundation for the American middle class. And that's why, at the start of my administration I set a goal for America: By 2020, this Nation will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. We used to have that. We're going to have it again. And we've begun to take historic steps to achieve this goal. Already we've increased Pell grants by $500. We've created a $2,500 tax credit for 4 years of college tuition. We've simplified student aid applications and ensured that aid is not based on the income of a job that you just lost. A new GI bill of rights for the 21st century is beginning to help soldiers coming home from Iraq and Afghanistan to begin a new life in a new economy. And the recovery plan has helped close State budget shortfalls, which put enormous pressure on public universities and community

> colleges, at the same time making historic investments in school libraries and classrooms and facilities all across America. So we've already taken some steps that are building the foundation for a 21st century education system here in America, one that will allow us to compete with China and India and everybody else all around the world. But today I'm announcing the most significant downpayment yet on reaching the goal of having the highest college graduation rate of any nation in the world. We're going to achieve this in the next 10 years. And it's called the American Graduation Initiative. It will reform and strengthen community colleges like this one from coast to coast so they get the resources that students and schools need and the results workers and businesses demand. Through this plan, we seek to help an additional 5 million Americans earn degrees and certificates in the next decade—5 million. Not since the passage of the original GI bill and the work of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education, which helped to double the number of community colleges and increase by seven-fold enrollment in those colleges, have we taken such a historic step on behalf of community colleges in America. And let me be clear: We pay for this plan. This isn't adding to the deficit. We're paying for this plan by ending the wasteful subsidies we currently provide to banks and private lenders for student loans. That will save tens of billions of dollars over the next 10 years. Instead of lining the pockets of special interests, it's time this money went towards the interests of higher education in America. That's what my administration is committed to doing. (Obama, 2009c, paras. 19–22)

In contrast, in an address to students at Georgetown University, President Obama focused on the leadership position of the graduates in 21st century America. He stated:

> Most of all, I want every American to know that each action we take and each policy we pursue is driven by a larger vision of America's future, a future where sustained economic growth creates good jobs and rising incomes, a future where prosperity is fueled not by excessive debt or reckless speculation or fleeting profits, but is instead built by skilled, productive workers, by sound investments that will spread opportunity at home and allow this Nation to lead the world in the technologies and the innovation and discoveries that will shape the 21st century. That's the America I see. That's the America that Georgetown is preparing so many of you for. That is the future that I know that we can have. (Obama, 2009d, para. 8)

Through administrative goals and public speeches, the President clearly made a distinction between institution types. However, President Obama does not agree that the

university is superior to the community college, rather it does have a distinct purpose that is equally important to the nation as a whole. He argued that

> [a]ll too often, community colleges are treated like the stepchild of the higher education system; they're an afterthought, if they're thought of at all. And that means schools are often years behind in the facilities they provide, which means, in a 21st century economy, they're years behind in the education they can offer. That's a mistake, and it's one that we'll help to correct. (Obama, 2009c, para. 32)

Furthermore, when addressing the need for the Community College Summit, President Obama said:

> So I think it's clear why I asked Jill to travel the country visiting community colleges, because, as she knows personally, these colleges are the unsung heroes of America's education system. They may not get the credit they deserve, they may not get the same resources as other schools, but they provide a gateway to millions of Americans to good jobs and a better life . . . And community colleges aren't just the key to the future of their students. They're also one of the keys to the future of our country. We are in a global competition to lead in the growth industries of the 21st century. And that leadership depends on a well-educated, highly skilled workforce. (Obama, 2010e, paras. 5, 7)

Since President Obama is still in office, and the American Graduation Initiative is still an initiative that is a focus, the outcome is not known. However, it is clear that Obama has a distinct plan for the community college systems of the US, separate from the goals set forth for universities.

Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter are the result of the CDA/DHA analysis of 724 presidential texts, framed in the work of Wodak et al. (2009). These findings are presented according to the order of the research questions posed at the outset of this

study. The research questions I seek to address in the next chapter, based upon the findings in this chapter are:

1. What is the role of higher education in the production and reproduction of American national identity?
2. How, if at all, does this role change alongside shifts in policy paradigms from 1946 to 2013?
3. How, if at all, does institutional hierarchy prescribe differing varieties of national identity?

In Chapter V, I will discuss the outcomes of the study based upon the findings relevant and situated within the framework presented in Chapter II.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This final chapter addresses the conclusions I draw based on the findings presented in Chapter IV as well as the results' relevance to the theoretical framework, current literature regarding higher education, and the relationship between policy paradigms and the ways in which universities and community colleges are expected to re-create the dominant national identity found in the analysis of the presidential texts. The discussion is framed in the order of the research questions followed by a reflection on methods and the use of DHA in policy research, limitations of the study, recommendations for future research, and general conclusions at the close of the chapter.

Results of Findings

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of higher education institutions in the production and reproduction of American cultural identity from 1946 to 2013. This role has changed over the course of the historical period studied, partly due to the dissipation of a policy consensus that dominated higher education policy formation from the post-World War II era to the 1960s. In the 1970s, consensus began to wane as the US became a leading superpower, and the purpose of higher education became a topic of debate centered upon the public and private roles of higher education in the US, coming to a pivotal turn in the 1990s (Schram & Neisser, 1997; St. John & Parsons, 2004). This dramatic change in policy formation is explained in this study as the result of policy

paradigm shifts (Hall, 1993). Currently, the future of higher education and its relationship to the nation-state is in a state of crisis; the outcome of current policy initiatives will have a profound impact on the purpose of higher education, and in turn, its role in producing and reproducing American national identity. Furthermore, if current initiatives move to legislation, a paradigm shift may occur. This shift will impact how the university and the community college will experience the implications of legislation, perhaps reflecting their tertiary position in the higher education hierarchy.

The findings discussed in the previous section suggest that a dominant discursive national identity that is consistent across all presidential administrations analyzed includes an identity of superiority, defined in economic terms, supported by the reproduction of that identity in the American education system, including but not limited to, higher education, as it is reflective of the superior economic identity of the nation-state as it performs its duty as an economic agent. Thus, higher education policy and practice aims to meet the economic needs of the nation-state and the identity that dominates or influences the mission and purpose of institutions of higher education is discursively constructed to perpetuate the ideals of market capitalism.

Establishing the Discursive Construction of National Identity

The presidential texts analyzed create a discursive national identity that presidents perpetuate in their speeches and statements to the public. Each president tells the public how they see the nation—what historical markers are relevant to their administration, what the future holds from their perspective, and what they see as the role of the government and of the people in crafting that future. Thus, the boundaries of the

imagined community are created through discourses; boundaries are then reinforced as they are perpetuated through social institutions, either by reverence to the purpose established by presidential discourses or by force through federal legislation.

For social institutions to perpetuate or re-create the dominant identity, they are expected to do so by re-enacting the national purpose in their mission. This is evident in repeated discourses that are directed towards institutions and the outputs the social institution is expected to provide. If enforced by policy, the legislation is a concrete means by which administrations can require social institutions to re-create their agenda for the nation; the identity that they discursively construct. Once the social institutions become conveyors of national identity, and the identity is pervasive in presidential public discourses, individuals accept and function within the boundaries set forth for the nation. By this point, the discourses are hegemonic and the national, imagined, identity is dominant.

Given this interpretation of how discourses construct an identity for the imagined community, I was able to extrapolate from the analysis of texts the boundaries set forth by presidents and their expectations for higher education to perpetuate that identity. The boundaries are the dominant identity, as the identity crafts what is most important in the presidents' agendas and in turn the people's understanding of that agenda, and all policies that result reinforce that agenda and identity for social institutions to function within. In what follows, I discuss the results presented in the previous chapters in order of the research questions, the same order as the findings were presented in Chapter IV. Each question leads the discussion as to how the data supports the conclusion that I draw that

the dominant national identity is that of a superior nation-state, defined in economic terms, reinforced by the expectation that higher education supports that identity as it functions as an economic agent.

The Role of Higher Education

The first research question asks, what is the role of higher education in the production and reproduction of American national identity? To address this question, the 622 presidential speeches were analyzed through the framework establish by Wodak et al. (2009) in their study of Austrian national identity. The purpose was to determine how presidents construct an imagined community on behalf of the public and what the dominant identity or identities emerged in the period studied, 1946 to 2013, and the expectations for higher education to reproduce that dominant identity. The parameters of this study were intentionally chosen as 1946 represents a pivotal year in the US' attention to higher education with the Truman Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy, and 2013 being the year in which study was conducted as the Obama administration is focused on the American Graduation Initiative, directly related to the purpose and mission of higher education.

Through analysis of the presidential speeches, I found that the dominant identity of the United States from 1946 to 2013 was consistently related to the nation's superior status, predominantly in the market economy. As presented in the previous chapter, each president defined success of the nation based upon the status the US held in the marketplace. One change through time is the focus on not just the domestic economy being greater than other nation-states' economies, but that the US dominated the global

marketplace. Furthermore, and most relevant to my research, is that the US maintained this status by the success of the people; success built upon the workforce being educated and the products sold in the marketplace being developed by educated people.

This national dominance in the marketplace was dependent upon the people to perpetuate. As a result, presidents spoke of economic growth and status as not just a goal or superior status relegated to the nation, but it was a status enjoyed by the people as the nation's economic status ensured their freedom as without a stable economy, the nation would suffer and possibly become likened to failing nations and the people would then lose stability and freedom. By equating the economy to people's freedom, presidents were able to convince the public to accept economic superiority as an identity for the nation and the imagined community as this was the only way to maintain dominance and leadership, a role argued as relegated to the US based on history.

For people to meet the demand set forth by presidents to construct or maintain the dominant identity, people have to work, and the more educated people are, and the more products created, the more prosperous the nation and its members will be. Therefore the presidents place a heavy burden on institutions of higher education to provide the knowledge people need to become effective and profitable workers, for national and individual benefit. This burden of purpose to support the national economy directly and indirectly defined the purpose of education—to produce workers and goods for the market so that the nation could lead and the people could maintain freedom.

Policy Paradigms in Federal Higher Education Policy

The second research question focuses on the federal policies passed during the administrations studied. The question asks how, if at all, does this role change alongside shifts in policy paradigms from 1946 to 2013? First, whether or not policy paradigm shifts occurred had to be determined, then I considered whether or not the dominant identity higher education was to reflect changed alongside shifts, if or when they occurred. What I found is that shifts did occur during the presidential administrations I hypothesized would experience a shift—the Truman, Johnson, Clinton, and, arguably, the Obama administrations. As discussed in the findings in Chapter IV, these administrations passed profound policies that directly impacted the function of higher education and the discourses presidents used to discuss the institutions' purpose. What I also found is that there were administrations that missed great opportunities to employ higher education as a means to meet their agenda for the nation. For example, President Reagan commissioned the report "A Nation at Risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), but did not actively pursue educational reform to address the conclusions drawn in that report. Neither did his Vice President and later President Bush, who also had the opportunity to pursue a legislative agenda for education to support his goals for the nation. Rather, this report became a baseline for President Clinton in establishing his legislative agenda for education, making the report's influence lead to a latent policy paradigm shift.

After identifying the policy paradigm shifts based on legislation and its impact on the function of higher education and presidential discourses surrounding the expectations

of the legislation to assist the social institution in perpetuating an identity based upon economic superiority, the issue of whether or not the purpose of higher education in reproducing the dominant identity of the nation-state changes alongside the paradigm shifts. I conclude that it does not change with policy paradigm shifts. The basis for this conclusion is twofold. First, the dominant identity is consistent across all presidential administrations—the nation is superior because it dominates the economy. The means to domination is the same across the administrations, and the expectations for higher education to support economic dominance and thus superior status is also consistent across the administrations studied. Second, the policies that initiate the paradigm shifts are not all focused on the same target—the Truman Commission is the result of the GI Bill and how to respond to the growth of demand for higher education; the Higher Education Act of 1965 focuses on aiding students, much like the GI Bill, in attaining a higher degree; the Goals 2000 initiative focuses on educational excellence in the classroom; the American Graduation Initiative focuses on workforce development. The impetus for change proposed by these commissions, initiatives, and legislation is different during each paradigm shift. This means that the focus for change is not always the same, yet the outcome or purpose of the legislation is consistent—educating the public to meet the demands of the economy. If policies were all targeted at either students or institutions, or for one specific function, it could be argued that the shifts and the purpose were consistent. Rather, the policies reflect the dominant identity, but in different ways as they do target different stakeholders, with the same intended outcome, making higher education's purpose consistent throughout and across the administrations

studied—to support the economic status of the US and therefore its identity of superiority.

Varieties of National Identity: The University and the Community College

The final research question I pose for the study is: How, if at all, does institutional hierarchy prescribe differing varieties of national identity? In other words, does the university interpret their role in supporting the dominant national identity differently than the community college; is there a divide in expectations based on the tertiary position? To address this question, how presidents define the purpose of institutions in their speeches is very important. As evidenced by the text excerpts in Chapter Four, presidents expect all institutions of higher education to contribute to the national economy and thus the nation's superior identity; what is different is at what level, or through what contributions, the presidents expect the different institutions to be involved.

Data suggests that presidents overtly expect the community colleges to produce workers by teaching skills and responding to the needs of employers. On the other hand, universities are expected to do research, create new products, and also train people to lead in industry. Both institutions are expected to meet economic demands, but one is to provide human capital while the other is to provide goods and knowledge to be traded. If the hierarchical institutions have a decided role in the economic status of the nation, they are relegated to serve that purpose, a purpose that is clearly divided between the working class and upper class, dividing the universities and community colleges along social class lines, and thus the institutions and its students experience a different interpretation of national identity based upon their socio-economic status. Therefore, findings suggest that

all levels of higher education are expected to meet the economic needs of the market, the nation, and the individual, on some level, somewhat varied based upon the status of the institution in the hierarchical system reflective of American social divisions. This is consistent across the period studied, 1946-2013, with changing expectations concomitant with changes facing the nation, either internally or externally.

The University

Consistent with previous literature, higher education has responded to national needs and changed alongside the nation as it has grown and developed during this period as in other times of great change in US history. As noted in previous literature, the institution of higher education experienced its greatest period of change from the end of the Second World War to the 1970s as it responded to surges in enrollment and arguably faced a crisis of purpose as the world settled after the war (Geiger, 2005; Newson & Buchbinder, 1988; Schugurensky, 2006). This is evidenced in the findings from my study; consistent with the paradigm shifts that occurred as a result of the GI Bill (1944) and the Higher Education Act (1965), among many other federal acts, higher education was changed dramatically as it responded to these federal initiatives and met the demands set forth by the respective administrations.

From the 1970s to the 1990s universities faced another point of transition embedded in the demands placed upon the institution to meet the needs of the market, the nation, and the public. The result was a debate concerning the appropriate purpose of the university—was it to be an academic haven, maintaining scholars' autonomy and academic freedom in teaching and research? Was it to respond to the economic demands

of the marketplace? Should the focus of higher education be to transform society by fostering activism? Or, should higher education pursue an identity of service (Schugurensky, 2006)? The question of purpose and debate among leaders and scholars in higher education is reflective of what was occurring in the nation; what the presidents were discursively construing from the 1970s to 1990s was important to maintain the nation's identity, and was therefore responsive to external pressures. This led social institutions to serve the market, the nation, and the people in economic terms; and as the social institutions served this purpose, the social practices materialized in human agency. This is reflective of the dominant ideology that emerged in the 1970s, was reinforced in the 1980s, and was arguably indisputably the dominant force of the 1990s, neoliberalism (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

With the dominance of an economic identity of the nation, and therefore an economic purpose of the social institution of higher education, in the 1980s the university assumed a role of economic service, focusing on academic capitalism, and then in the 1990s, became an entrepreneurial institution (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Also consistent with the themes of neoliberalism, this was evident in the findings. Presidents Reagan, Bush, Clinton, and Bush all supported and clearly stated the expectation that higher education was to produce goods to be sold and produce educated workers that would support the nation in the global marketplace in turn assuring the nation would maintain its superior status.

In the 21st century, during the administrations of President Bush and President Obama, the public universities encounter another crisis of purpose similar to that of the

post-war era, face challenges as the federal government and state governments have decreased their economic support (Zusman, 2005), and is currently addressing challenges to its autonomy due to national, intra-national, and internal challenges to the institutions' function and purpose (Jessop et al., 2008; Schugurensky, 2006; Zusman, 2005). Because universities have engaged in academic capitalism and become entrepreneurial they are caught between the conflicting forces of laissez-faire economics and government intervention, a challenge that is reflective of greater national and global issues. This leads the university to be much more influenced by outside forces as it becomes more corporatized, accountable to outside agencies, and dependent upon external, often private, funding. The result is a crisis in function and purpose (Schugurensky, 2006). This too is evident in the findings presented. Presidents talk about the output of universities; they talk about the research and development programs that tie the private and public sectors together. Administrations expect higher education to produce a workforce that is ready for the technological advances of the future, if not create those advancements themselves. This places the university on notice that if they do not support the market, the government will not support them. The government thus forces the university to become a commodity, removing the social and civic purpose of higher education, reducing it to a factory of human and knowledge capital. The production of a workforce is much more evident in the findings regarding community colleges; as is the evidence that people are marginalized by higher education.

The Community College

Previous literature regarding the purpose of community colleges in the tertiary system of US higher education does not provide a consensus as to the past, current, or future purpose of the institution. Rather, competing works offer that the purpose of the community college could be to support university selectivity, to respond to business and/or economic demands, possibly serve as an institution to pigeon-hole students into a lower socio-economic status than their university counterparts, or maybe it is an egalitarian institution that is the greatest exemplar of democratic educational opportunity (Dougherty, 1994). What is consistent in the research is that the purpose of the community college has been contested since the first colleges were founded at the turn of the 20th century (Dougherty, 1994) and now, just after the turn of the 21st century, the purpose of the community college in both the ranks of tertiary higher education and society more broadly is a subject of debate (Levin, 2000).

While literature suggests that the dual role of the community college—to prepare liberal arts students for transfer to the university and training for workers—began in the 1920s and persisted until the 1990s. In my study, I find that the discussion surrounding community colleges' role as a mechanism of opportunity for those who cannot attend a university for a variety of reasons (location, cost, etc.), is limited. Rather, the data suggests that the focus of the purpose of community colleges as projected during the presidential administrations is almost always a mechanism for vocational training, workforce development, and eventually, human capital. My findings are consistent with the argument posed in previous works (Ayers, 2005; Brint & Karabel, 1991; Dougherty

& Townsend, 2006; Labaree, 1990) that community colleges serve students from marginalized populations and lower socio-economic backgrounds, and perpetuate class inequalities as the colleges are expected to infuse the labor market with highly trained human capital. Thus, the community college experiences the dominant national identity differently; instead of being the population that benefits from market domination, it serves the population that keeps the market profitable.

The separation of roles of tertiary institutions reflects the class inequities that are prevalent in US society more broadly. While both institutions, the university and the community college, are expected to reproduce the dominant, discursively constructed identity, which I have identified as inextricably related to the nation's and the peoples' economic status, they are expected to service that identity differently. In other words, those at the top of the hierarchy will produce knowledge, create goods, and directly benefit from market involvement; those at the bottom of the hierarchy will bear the burden of labor that keeps the market infused with products to be sold. This perpetuates the issues of class division based on socio-economic status, relegating students who cannot afford a university education to be pigeon-holed into a working-class education with working-class wages, contributing to the perpetuation of the cycle of inequity in the US.

Significance of Findings

The findings of this study bear significance to theory and policy. In regards to theory, the study traces higher education's response to presidential agendas and constructions of national identity, its enactment and response to policy, and the general

expectations set forth during periods of change, turmoil, challenge, and glory that impact a great social institution that is synonymous with the United States. Whereas the findings suggest that the over-arching purpose of higher education as a whole has been to support the economic status of the nation and the members of the community, the degree of involvement and level of expectations shift with the focus of policy as well as external events and or pressures that impact the literal function of the institution itself.

Currently, in 2013, higher education stands at a crossroads—a point where the current administration is encouraging increased graduation rates to meet a statistic and to produce more workers for the global knowledge based economy (Jessop, 2008a), and on the other side, there are calls for education to break class barriers and support a more just society through education and sharing of knowledge. How the institution responds to the current challenges posed by the Obama administration, how it is forced to respond as a result of future policy, is very important to the future of higher education in America and its role in protecting national identity. Furthermore, it is important that scholars understand the function and purpose of higher education in the context of this challenging point of change as it will answer a lot of questions regarding the future of the institution and, hopefully, give direction for that future.

In regards to policy specifically, findings suggest that the federal legislation posed particularly in periods in which a paradigm shift occur are representative of the agenda of the administration of that period and in turn supports the re-creation of the dominant discursive national identity in each administration. The fact that policy reinforces not just an agenda, but a dominant national identity re-enacted by social institutions and given

legitimacy through human agency as well, means that the policies dictated by the elite, the top of the government hierarchy, have a profound impact on the purpose of higher education, especially across tertiary lines. Thus policy forces higher education to function as an economic agent within the confines of its hierarchical position, re-creating that social hierarchy through its graduates.

The implications of these findings are important for policymakers, leaders, and scholars alike. Those who write policy must be aware of how the policy alters the mission of institutions. Leaders within institutions must be cognizant of the hegemonic discourses they use to construct missions, visions, goals, values, and strategic plans for their institutions. Scholars can use these findings to help situate the changing role of higher education in a global society, a society that reaches beyond the boundaries of the imagined community in both scope and influence. Understanding the purpose and function of US higher education from these perspectives can lead to a means to understand and possibly confront hierarchical inequities in the social institution of higher education and broader society.

Limitations

Whereas findings bear significance for both education policy and theory, there are limitations to this study. One limitation lies in the institutional scope considered. In my study, I am considering the university as a generalized, public, and not specific to research level or rank; the community college is also a generalized institution, noted as associate's degree granting, public, and open admission. This study therefore does not consider private colleges and universities, private community colleges, for-profit

institutions, women's colleges, historically black institutions, technical institutes, or vocational education centers specifically. These institutions, given their varied missions, cultures, values, and histories, could potentially offer another perspective on the role of higher education institutions in reproducing American national identity.

Beyond the scope of this study is how the discourses are recontextualized in media or other literature regarding higher education. Because national identity is in constant discursive negotiation, analyzing how the discourses are intertextual and recontextualized (Wodak et al., 2009) in higher education literature would further support the findings as through this portion of DHA analysis, readers could get a better sense of how the institution types studied interpret their purpose in serving their nation. Recontextualization is a concept borrowed from Basil Bernstein's (1971) sociology of pedagogy. It is defined as a process "whereby texts (and the discourses and genres which they deploy) move between spatially and temporally different contexts, and are subject to transformations whose nature depends upon relationships and differences between such contexts" (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010, p. 22). Recontextualization occurs as genres and discourses are imported into a particular institutional setting from other social practices. It is important to note, that discourses are not perfectly reproduced from one institutional setting to another. Instead, recontextualization is a context-dependent process which often precipitates inflections and hybridities as social actors resist, negotiate, and accommodate discourses. Analytically, the way to understand the process of recontextualization and resultant hybridities is through interdiscursive and intertextual analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Fairclough, 2010). Identity policy discourses are

recontextualized within higher education institutional settings, represented in literature outside of the presidential speeches, commission reports, and laws investigated in this study. Analyzing works produced for and by the institutions under consideration for interdiscursivity and intertextualized discourses would further validate my findings.

A final limitation beyond my control is the current status of the American Graduation Initiative. I argue that we are perhaps experiencing the beginnings of a paradigm shift that remains to be seen. This cannot be concluded until the end of President Obama's second term in office. This leaves a final projection and conclusion open-ended and therefore possibly contested.

Reflection on Methods

The work of Wodak et al. (2009) provided a methodological and theoretical framework for my study, discussed in detail in Chapter II. This framework provided me guidance to systematically and effectively analyze a large number of texts; and as Wodak et al. (2009) intended, the methods and framework of their study on Austrian national identity were readily adaptable to the United States, as the context and cultural norms were considered per the authors' recommendation.

Comparison to the Work of Wodak et al. (2009)

The work of Wodak et al. (2009) was an invaluable tool in making my study possible and manageable. While I did frame my study around Wodak et al.'s (2009) study of Austrian national identity, there are several important differences I will note, some of which contribute to the limitations of my study. The model study was conducted as a more generalized analysis of public, semi-public, and recontextualized discourses.

My study focuses solely on public discourses as all texts analyzed were speeches, proclamations, orders, and statements that were either heard by the public or produced in print for public readership post-delivery. The study conducted by Wodak et al. (2009) considered semi-public meetings in which political leaders had conversations behind closed doors that the researchers were privy to, including interviews of the political leaders under consideration. It was not feasible for me to conduct research regarding semi-private conversations between the current president and fellow political leaders, nor could I interview the current or past leaders whose speeches I studied. Additionally, my study focused on a specific institution as the main topic of the public discourses, albeit their historical timeframe consisted of one leader's term, while my study consisted of twelve presidents' administrations, several of which served two terms, covering 67 years of US history. Even though the scope of my study does not reach the recontextualization analysis portion of DHA, the work of Wodak et al. (2009) served as a valid and instructive method for my research, as a methodological tool as well as a theoretical tool that helped me deconstruct a very complicated dataset and the findings that resulted from analysis.

DHA as a Method for Policy Research

DHA provided researchers a tool to consider how policy has morphed over a period of time. The method considers how discourse changes over time and influences ideological processes over time. As noted by Hall (1993), policy making is an ideological process; ideological processes change over time as dominant discourses compete to influence those in positions of power. Since policymaking is an ideological

process and both change over time, understanding how the discourses, the use of language in power dynamics, change over a specified period of time in a given setting could serve as a valuable tool for policy research; research that could perhaps inform current policymakers and encourage a more socially just process and resulting policy.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings in my study, I recommend future research focus on other institutions' roles in the reproduction of national identity—historically black colleges and universities, private institutions, women's colleges, technical institutes, vocational education centers, and possibly for profit institutions. This study is limited to focusing on a generalized university and a generalized community college, both public and assumed to be at the top and bottom of the hierarchy. There are additional layers to be considered in order to get a true sense of higher education as a whole and how all types of institutions experience their role in higher education's duty to reproduce the dominant discursive identity of the given time period.

In addition, a follow up study regarding how the presidential discourses are recontextualized in higher education literature produced for and/or by the institutions is warranted. Completing such analysis would complement the work of Wodak et al. (2009) and perhaps further validate or contest the conclusions I draw from the findings based on this study, focused upon what the presidents dictate as the role of higher education in the reproduction of American cultural identity. An analysis of higher education journals would perhaps better examine the role of various institution types as

journals are representations not of the presidency or the federal government, but the institutions of higher education.

Finally, the Obama administration needs to be followed to see what impact the American Graduation Initiative has on higher education and its role as an economic agent and perhaps policies that result from the initiative. On a micro-level, studying how the hegemonic discourses of presidential narrative impacts specific institutions' mission statements would assumedly result in more practical findings for leaders in higher education to better understand their role in perpetuating both national identity and the economic agency of their institutions.

Conclusion

Higher education serves the United States as one means of perpetuating global dominance, particularly in the marketplace. As presented here, presidents construe an identity for the nation-state as a superior entity, driven by and supported in dominance by its economic prowess, perpetuated by social institutions that are responsible for maintaining that status and identity; in this case, higher education being the social institution of focus. Since higher education is a social institution expected to reproduce the dominant American national identity of superiority through economic prowess, higher education becomes an economic agent. In order to reproduce that identity, higher education must function as a caveat to economic success for the nation-state as a whole, and the individuals within the nation-state. While this prescribed or expected duty is placed upon higher education from presidential administrations, reinforced by federal policy and the impact of policy paradigms, exhibited in social class distinction among

institutions and its graduates and, arguably, assists the nation-state in maintaining its identity and prowess, it is damaging to the social purpose of higher education. If higher education is reduced to become an economic agent, existing solely to support the nation's competitive market status, the members of the nation-state have the most to lose, and the social benefits of education will be lost.

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